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MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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Modern Philology

VOLUME XXI

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ENGLISH PRIMITIVISTIC THEORIES OF EPIC ORIGINS

The eighteenth century saw a change in the critical conception of the epic from that of the Aristotelian formalist at the beginning of the century to that of the primitivistic critic in the latter part. Critics of the former school regarded the epic, whether by Homer or Virgil, as the highest and most difficult form of literary art, the product of a sophisticated writer, who, as a conscious literary artist, followed certain prescribed regulations and wrote with a definite moral purpose. The primitivists, on the other hand, assumed that the epic was the product of the primitive bard, ignorant of rhetoric and rules of the epic, who sang his lays to savage audiences on festival occasions. In a longer study¹ I have traced in detail this change in attitude from the Restoration period to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In this article it is my purpose to discuss merely: (1) the Scottish school of authors and critics among whom the primitivistic theories of the epic reached their fullest development; (2) the nature of the theories themselves as they were developed in the second half of the eighteenth century; and (3) some of the sources of primitivistic ideas.

I am using the term *primitivism* perhaps somewhat loosely to cover not only a general idealization of primitive man, but also an idealization of primitive poets, or such as were conceived of in the eighteenth century as primitive. Although enthusiasm for the

¹ *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins*, an unpublished Doctor's dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1921.

primitive poet is undoubtedly an outgrowth of a more general idealization of primitive man, it is sometimes found where many of the aspects of the latter are lacking. While I have confined myself in this article chiefly to the consideration of primitivistic literary theories, I hope later in a more comprehensive study of primitivism to point out more specifically the many ramifications of the general theory and their mutual relationships.

I. THE SCOTTISH SCHOOL OF PRIMITIVISTS

The Scottish writers who were engaged in the investigation of primitive man and primitive poetry fall into two groups, one located at Aberdeen, chiefly at Marischal College, the other at Edinburgh. The controlling personalities in the Aberdeen group seem to have been Thomas Blackwell, author of the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, and Thomas Reid, the philosopher; the central figures at Edinburgh were Henry Home (Lord Kames), author of *Elements of Criticism* and *Sketches of the History of Man*; Adam Smith, the economist, author of *Considerations concerning the First Formation of Languages*, and Hugh Blair, professor of rhetoric and *belles lettres* at the University of Edinburgh. Between the two groups there were many cross-influences.

Thomas Blackwell is, for our purposes, far the most significant figure of the Aberdeen group. He held a professorship of Greek at Marischal College from 1723 to his death in 1757. This means that all the men who attended Marischal College during that period were practically certain to come directly under his influence in their study of Greek during their first year. That Blackwell was most influential as a teacher is amply substantiated by contemporary comment. Alexander Gerard, who was closely associated with him for many years, writes:

As in learning and knowledge he was exquisite and equal to any, so in the address of a teacher he was perhaps superior to all. No man ever possessed in a more eminent degree the talent of inspiring young minds with the love of learning: of begetting among them a generous emulation; and of forming them to a taste and perception of what was elegant and beautiful in the admired productions of antiquity.¹

¹ A. F. Tytler, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames* (Edinburgh, 1814), III, 73-74.

And even Ramsay, who shows the greatest irritation at Blackwell's Shaftesburean affectations, admits that he had "a happy, efficacious way of interesting his scholars in all he taught or said to them."¹ Not only is he said to have revived the study of Greek literature in the north of Scotland,² but to have been very much interested in philosophy also. Ramsay speaks of him as "strangely inclined to the philosophy which was then coming fast into vogue."³ The philosophy here referred to was that of Shaftesbury, whom Ramsay calls Blackwell's "favourite philosopher, whom it was at the time the fashion to admire extravagantly."⁴ Blackwell's long professorship at Aberdeen is therefore significant, not only because he was thereby given abundant opportunity for the transmission of his own ideas about Homer, the epic, and the characteristics of early language in general, but because he served during this long period as a channel for the influence of Shaftesbury.

Among the men who came directly under the influence of Blackwell, James Burnet, Lord Monboddo,⁵ author of a six-volume work entitled *The Origin and Progress of Language*, and another on *Antient Metaphysics, or the Science of Universals*, stands foremost. Monboddo's lifelong interest in classical literature is attributed by his biographers directly to the inspiration of Blackwell.⁶ He went from Aberdeen to Edinburgh and was there closely associated, though not on the best of terms, with Kames, who was his brother at the bar, and with the other Edinburgh literati of the time. James Beattie was another illustrious Marischal man, and James Macpherson was a member of both colleges, migrating from King's College to Marischal College in 1754.⁷ Macpherson could scarcely have had Blackwell in Greek, however, as Saunders, his biographer, supposes,⁸ for Greek

¹ John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), I, 291-92.

² Robert Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1835), I, 424.

³ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 291.

⁴ Cf. Tytler's remark that "his model of imitation was Lord Shaftesbury," *op. cit.*, I, 231.

⁵ At Marischal College from 1730 to 1734. P. J. Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Marischallanae Aberdonensis* (Aberdeen, 1889), II, 307.

⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 424; and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 351.

⁷ *Fasti Acad. Marisc.*, II, 323.

⁸ Saunders gives an anecdote about Macpherson in Blackwell's Greek class, but if he got the story from Ramsay, as he professes, he appears to have deliberately changed the name Broadfoot in the original to Blackwell, for it is the former in Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 545-46. Bailey Saunders, *Life and Letters of James Macpherson* (London, 1854), p. 41.

was a first-year course, but he could not have failed to come somewhat under the influence of Blackwell and he may have taken the lectures on ancient history, geography, and chronology which Blackwell had first opened in 1750.¹ With Macpherson's relations to the Edinburgh men I shall deal later.

Alexander Gerard, author of *Essay on Taste* and *Essay on Genius*, took his M.A. at Marischal in 1744 and after 1750 was connected first with Marischal and then with King's College. William Duff, author of *An Essay on Original Genius* and *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry*, and John Ogilvie, author of *An Essay on the Lyric Poetry of the Ancients*, were both Marischal College graduates. John Gregory and Thomas Reid, both of King's College, were founders of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society or Wise Club² in which originated many later published works, such as Reid's *Inquiry*, George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Beattie's *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Men with those of the Animal World*, and Gerard's *Essay on Taste* and *Essay on Genius*.³ James Dunbar, another King's College man and author of *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*, was also a member of this society.

Of these Aberdeen men, Monboddo, Gregory, and Macpherson went also to Edinburgh and were associated with the group of primitivists there, while Gerard, Beattie, and Dunbar, although they did not move to Edinburgh, were connected in one way or another with the Edinburgh group.

Great as was the interest in literary and philosophical questions at Aberdeen about the middle of the century, the real center of intellectual activity at that time in Scotland was in Edinburgh. Discussion of philosophical, scientific, and literary questions was the order of the day. Clubs for discussion multiplied in number and grew in size, and besides these organized associations there was much informal gathering at taverns and coffee houses. The reminiscences of Alexander Carlyle, a member of this Edinburgh group, give some

¹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 238.

² W. L. Davidson, "The University's Contribution to Philosophy," in *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen* ("Aberdeen University Studies," No. 19, 1906), p. 80.

³ Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

idea of the enthusiasm of these informal meetings. Carlyle writes:

Robertson and John Home and Bannatine and I lived all in the country, and came only periodically to the town. Blair and Jardine both lived in it, and suppers being the only fashionable meal at that time, we dined where we best could, and by cadies assembled our friends to meet us in a tavern by nine o'clock; and a fine time it was when we could collect David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Lord Elibank, and Drs. Blair and Jardine on an hour's warning. I remember one night that David Hume, who having dined abroad, came rather later to us, and directly pulled a large key from his pocket, which he laid on the table [*sic*]. This he said was given him by his maid Peggy . . . for she said when the honest fellows came in from the country he never returned home until after one o'clock.¹

Of this group, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Lord Elibank were considered "as a literary triumvirate, from whose judgment, in matters of taste and composition, there lay no appeal."²

One of the most famous societies³ of the middle of the century was the Select Society, originated in 1754 by Allan Ramsay, the son of the poet. It met on Friday evenings in one of the inner apartments of the Advocates Library for purposes of "literary discussion, philosophical inquiry, and improvement in public speaking." From the glowing accounts by the later contemporaries of these early members of the club, it must indeed have been a brilliant association. Dugald Stewart speaks of the debates, "such as have not often been heard in modern assemblies . . . where the most splendid talents that have ever adorned this country were roused to their best exertions by the liberal and ennobling discussion of literature and philosophy."⁴ Tytler writes:

But the Select Society had an influence yet more extensive and permanent in diffusing the taste for letters in Scotland, and in kindling the fire of genius, which then began to display itself in various works, which have done honor to the national character. Besides the classical compositions of Hume, Robertson, Smith, and Fergusson, the writings of John Home, of Professor Wilkie, of Lord Hailes, Lord Monboddo, Sir John Dalrymple, the elder Mr. Tytler, all members of the Select Society of Edinburgh, have thrown a lustre on that institution, as marking the commencement of a literary era, which it is doubtful if the succeeding times have yet seen surpassed.⁵

¹ *Autobiography, containing memorial of the men and events of his time*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 275.

² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 319.

³ For a survey of Scottish learned societies, see H. R. Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship* (New York, 1913), pp. 72 ff.

⁴ *Account of the Life and Writings of Wm. Robertson*, 2d ed. (London, 1802), pp. 15-16.

⁵ Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 245-46.

Among the members in the list for 1759 are: John Jardine, Adam Smith, Alexander Wedderburn, Allan Ramsay, James Burnet (Lord Monboddo), Alexander Carlyle, David Hume, John Home, Hugh Blair, Lord Elibank, William Wilkie, Lord Kames, and Adam Ferguson.¹

Another equally famous club was the Poker Club, established in 1762. Although the starting-point of this association was the political question of the extension of the Militia Bill to Scotland, the interests of the club soon switched to the favorite subjects of the day—philosophy and literature. Adam Ferguson was responsible for the name, a poker being the secret symbol for stirring up the militia question.² Like the Select Society, the Poker Club included in its membership practically all the men with whom we are dealing: Lord Elibank, Alexander Carlyle, Adam Ferguson, John Home, David Hume, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair, Dr. Joseph Black. The society waned somewhat in the early eighties but was revived again in 1786 and to this new Poker Club were elected Dugald Stewart, the biographer of Adam Smith and William Robertson; Henry Mackenzie; and Alexander Fraser Tytler, the biographer of Kames.

Still another society which should be mentioned is the Philosophical Society,³ established originally in 1731, for the improvement of medical knowledge. In 1739 the scope of the society was extended to include subjects of philosophy and literature and it was renamed the "Society for Improving Arts and Sciences." Lord Morton, who was also president of the Royal Society of London, was president of this society for a number of years. Kames was a member and also Ferguson, Robertson, and David Hume.⁴ This philosophical society was reorganized in 1783 into the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Among the members in 1783 were Hugh Blair; Adam Ferguson; John Hill, the biographer of Blair; John Home; Henry Mackenzie; William Robertson; William Smellie, biographer of Gregory, Kames, Hume, and Smith; Adam Smith; Dugald Stewart; and A. F. Tytler. Non-resident members were James Beattie, George Campbell, Alexander Gerard, Thomas Reid, a number of other men from Aberdeen, and

¹ Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 ff.

² Carlyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-20.

³ Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 256 ff.

⁴ There were two David Humes in Edinburgh at this time and this might possibly have been David Hume, the Advocate.

James Dunbar. It is interesting to note that M. le Comte de Buffon was an honorary foreign member.

There remains yet to note one other indication of the great intellectual activity of the middle of the century, namely, the projection in 1754 of the *Edinburgh Review* for the discussion of current problems in literature and philosophy, natural and moral. The review ran through only two numbers, those of July, 1755, and January, 1756. Smith, Robertson, Blair, and Jardine were the principal contributors. The most interesting article was undoubtedly Smith's "Letter to the Authors of the *Edinburgh Review*," which appeared in the second number.¹

Turning to some of the individual members of the societies discussed above, we find that Kames, as I have pointed out, was one of the oldest and most influential men of the group of primitivists. Ramsay says of him enthusiastically that "he did more to promote the interests of philosophy and *belles lettres* in Scotland than all the men of law had done for a century before."² He was especially influential with the younger literary men, to whom he acted as both guide and patron. It was through his persuasion and encouragement that Adam Smith was induced to read a series of lectures on rhetoric and *belles lettres* at the University of Edinburgh in 1748, and he was also influential in getting the same position later for Hugh Blair.

Kames seems to have been early interested in the possibility of working out a "conjectural history" of mankind, and to have been a leader in the discussions of primitivistic theory. Although his own *Sketches of the History of Man* was not published until 1774, there is evidence that he was occupied with the subject very much earlier. In his Preface to the *Sketches*, he tells us that "above thirty years ago he began to collect materials for a natural history of man." "Above thirty years ago" would bring the first collecting and discussion of the material in the forties. That the ideas for the book were worked out

¹ The journal contained reviews of Gordon's *History of Peter the Great*, by Robertson; Anderson's *History of Croesus, King of Lydia*, by Robertson; the fourth volume of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, by Blair; Ebenezer Erskine's *Sermons*, by Jardine; Johnston's *Sermon on Unity*, by Jardine; Johnson's *Dictionary*, by Smith. It also contained a "Letter to the Authors," etc., by Smith; several articles by James Russell, surgeon; and a Preface by Alexander Wedderburn (Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 236, note).

² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 179. Cf. Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 253.

largely in conversation with the select coterie of which Kames was a member we may infer from the following note in Tytler's *Life*:

It was an invariable practice of Lord Kames, when employed in the composition of any of those works which he intended for the public eye, to direct his researches, not only to writings of others, but to draw out, in conversation with his literary friends, or by correspondence with those persons best qualified to instruct him, every degree of information he could obtain on the subject which engaged his thoughts.¹

Moreover, some of the works which Kames published earlier, notably the *Historical Law Tracts* (1758), show the same tendency to trace social institutions back to their origins in primitive society. He writes in his Preface to this book, "The history of mankind is a delightful subject. A rational inquirer is not less entertained than instructed, when he traces the gradual progress of manners, of laws, of arts, from their birth to their present maturity."²

The fact that the discussion which formed the basis of the various treatises on primitive man began as early as the forties and fifties has an important bearing, as we shall see later, on the problem of sources and influences. There is corroborative evidence of early primitivistic interests in the fact that Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, published in 1767, was written during the fifties. In a letter of Hume to Smith, written in 1759, there is the statement that "Ferguson has very much polished and improved his treatise on Refinement," the treatise which was published finally under the title of *Essay on the History of Civil Society*.³ Similarly, John Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*, published in 1764, represents the results of earlier discussion in the Philosophical Society of Aberdeen.⁴ Finally Monboddo in his *Origin and Progress of Language*, published in 1773, in speaking of the attempt to trace the development of mankind from the earliest ages, remarks, "This is an extensive subject of inquiry, and belongs to a greater work, which I have long meditated, but probably shall not live to execute, I mean, The History of Man."⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 141-42.

² *Historical Law Tracts* (Edinburgh, 1761), p. III.

³ Stewart, "Life of Adam Smith," in Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, edited by Joseph Black and James Hutton (London, 1795), p. xlvii.

⁴ Smellie, *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Adam Smith* (Edinburgh, 1800), pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Op. cit.* (Edinburgh, 1774), I, 216.

This early interest in primitivistic theory is especially important in connection with Adam Smith, for his first lectures at Edinburgh in 1748, 1749, and 1750 were never published and hence can only be reconstructed by our knowledge of his intellectual interests at this time. Adam Smith recommends himself particularly to our attention not only because he had an influence, less ostentatious but more enduring than that of Kames, on the literary men of his generation, but because we can trace the working out in him of certain influence which played a part in the whole group. We are fortunate in having fairly full biographical material and, most important of all, in having a catalogue of the books of his library.¹ Although he did not contribute a great amount to the published literature of "conjectural history," he wrote more than he published and he undoubtedly talked more than he wrote.

Smith attended the University of Glasgow where the philosopher Hutcheson was lecturing, and seems to have been greatly impressed by him.² Hutcheson was the interpreter, par excellence, of Shaftesbury, so that here we have another channel for the influence of Shaftesbury. In 1748 he was giving his lectures at the University of Edinburgh which were attended—and used to good effect afterward—by Hugh Blair.³ Indeed Blair was accused at the time of having taken from Smith too much material for his slender acknowledgment thereof.⁴ We shall never know exactly the contents of these lectures, especially since Dugald Stewart preferred not to publish the list, in his possession, of literary and political opinions and convictions drawn up by Adam Smith in 1755,⁵ but we can scarcely doubt that, like Blair, he included material on the origin and characteristics of primitive languages. This is all the more probable since we know that Smith at one time projected a whole history of "liberal sciences and elegant arts"⁶ from the point of view of their development from primitive origins. Most of his essays toward this end Smith ordered to be destroyed before his death, but one or two remain, such as his

¹ *A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, ed. by James Bonar (London, 1894).

² Stewart, "Life of Adam Smith," *op. cit.*, p. xii.

³ Tytler, *op. cit.*, I, 266-67, note.

⁴ John Rae, *Life of Adam Smith* (London and New York, 1895), p. 32.

⁵ Stewart, "Life of Adam Smith," *op. cit.*, p. lxxx.

⁶ Bonar, *Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, p. xiii.

History of Astronomy, and his essay (probably intended for the same work) entitled *Of the Nature of that Imitation which takes Place in what are called the Imitative Arts*, both posthumously published. Further we have another confirmation of his early interests in the essay called *Considerations concerning the First Formation of Languages, and the Different Genius of Original and Compound Languages* which he published with the second edition, 1761, of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. It is probable that this piece of work was an outgrowth of his studies for his Edinburgh lectures. Dugald Stewart points out that this essay was typical of Smith's interests. It was, writes Stewart,

a specimen of a particular sort of enquiry, which so far as I know, is entirely of modern origin [i.e., conjectural history], and which seems, in a peculiar degree, to have interested Mr. Smith's curiosity. Something very similar to it may be traced in all his different works, whether moral, political, or literary; and on all these subjects he has exemplified it with the happiest success.¹

And he adds that "the same turn of thinking was frequently, in his social hours, applied to more familiar subjects." But the contents of the lectures are not as important as the general subject-matter of the discussions which were prevalent at this period, and which can confidently be said to be the various phases of what Dugald Stewart names theoretical or conjectural history.

Hugh Blair began lecturing on rhetoric and *belles lettres* in 1759. He was very intimately associated with the more important of the Edinburgh literati. Hume was one of his earliest friends,² and also Lord Kames. He was also long and intimately associated with Adam Smith³ and John Home.⁴ All this has a bearing on the problem—which indeed has become scarcely a problem—of whether the discussion of primitive poetry and language in the *Lectures*, which were not published until 1783, was devised to fit the Ossianic poems, or whether Ossian fitted it. We have already sufficiently noted the nature of the informal discussions to which Blair listened. It remains to repeat John Hill's testimony concerning Blair's rather dependent

¹ "Life of Adam Smith," *op. cit.*, p. xlii.

² John Hill, *An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair* (Philadelphia, 1808), p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

type of mind. Hill, it may be noted, was a friend of Blair and his testimony therefore has weight. He writes:

Dr. Blair's connection with Dr. Adam Smith was early formed, from a similarity in their literary pursuits. The latter, it has been said, set the example of reading lectures upon Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and was the first, in this country, who ever made the attempt. Upon any subject, to which the mind of Dr. Smith directed itself, it was capable of throwing light. A timid inquirer, which Dr. Blair naturally was, felt the benefit of such a friend, and gladly availed himself of every advantage which his company and conversation could afford.¹

If other testimony were needed we have Blair's own acknowledgment of his use of the ideas of others in his Preface to the *Lectures*.² There seems little doubt that the discussion of the origin of language and poetry was inspired by the general interest in the subject in Edinburgh at this time, that it formed part of the original lectures, and that the few references to Ossian were added later by way of illustrative material.

What bearing has all this on the problem of Macpherson and the genesis of the Ossianic poems? Macpherson showed the first few poems he had translated to John Home in the fall of 1759. It was not until the spring of 1760 that the *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* was published, and *Fingal* did not appear until late in 1761. It is not to be conceived that the complete plan for an epic existed in Macpherson's mind before that first meeting. At Aberdeen, Macpherson could easily have acquired some ideas about primitive poetry, or at least have caught the interest in it. And the possibility of finding an illustration of these primitivistic theories in the poetry of the Highlands, if it had not occurred to Macpherson himself, might have come to him through Jerome Stone's Preface to his translation of "Albin and the Daughter of May," in the *Scots Magazine* for January, 1756, in which Stone calls the original the "production of simple and unassisted genius"—almost Blackwell's very words—and remarks that "your learned readers will easily discover the conformity there is, betwixt the tale upon which it is built, and the story of *Bellerophon*, as related by *Homer*."³ There was plenty of time between his first meeting with John Home and the publication

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

² *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London and Edinburgh, 1783), I, iv.

³ *Scots Magazine*, XVIII, 134.

of the *Fragments*, to say nothing of the longer interval until the publication of *Fingal*, for the whole plan to develop under the influence of the discussion which Macpherson was bound to hear. Home, it will be remembered, passed the poems on to Blair, and these and the published *Fragments* seem to have circulated among the men of the whole group, for Tytler writes that they attracted the attention of "Dr. Blair, Mr. John Home, Dr. Fergusson, Lord Elibank, Sir Adam Fergusson, and others of the Scottish men of letters."¹ It is reasonable to suppose that these men in the very act of pointing out to Macpherson the value of his "discoveries" would amplify on their theories and give him the working basis for a larger undertaking. Blair, in his letter of December 20, 1797, to Mackenzie for the report of the Highland Society of Scotland, writes, "I being as much struck as Mr. Home with the high spirit of poetry which breathed in them, presently made enquiry where Mr. Macpherson was to be found, and having sent for him to come to me, had much conversation with him on the subject."² And he describes further the encouragement that Macpherson received from the other men of the group.

There remains a bit of concrete evidence of another sort that the theories of primitive poetry, instead of being formed on the basis of Ossian, actually preceded Ossian. One of the first reviews of the *Fragments* contains the following observation: "The boldness of the painting, and the strength of the metaphors are not peculiar to this collection alone, but to the incipient efforts of every nation whatsoever in poetry."³

However this may be, it would of course be absurd to deny the influence of Ossian on later criticism. The songs of Ossian undoubtedly colored many of the later treatments of primitive poetry and inspired further research.

II. RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF MONTESQUIEU AND ROUSSEAU ON THE SCOTTISH PRIMITIVISTS

The man who seems to have given the greatest impetus to the study of primitive society and institutions among the Scottish school of primitivists was Montesquieu. Montesquieu's method in *L'Esprit*

¹ Tytler, *op. cit.*, II, 134.

² Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1805), Appendix, p. 57.

³ The Critical Review, X, 30.

des Lois, that of tracing the laws of civil society back to their origins in primitive society, became the standard method for many lines of investigation.¹

The influence of Montesquieu is amply attested. In the case of Adam Smith we have the testimony of Dugald Stewart, and it is not necessary to remind the reader of the authority which can safely be attached to the remarks of this contemporary of Smith. I have already quoted what he had to say concerning Smith's predilection for tracing all institutions back to their primitive origins. The tendency in this direction Stewart affirms that Smith got from Montesquieu. In connection with the lectures on moral philosophy, he says: "Upon this subject he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu, endeavoring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages."² Again, he writes:

It is but lately . . . that these important subjects have been considered in this point of view; the greater part of politicians before the time of Montesquieu, having contented themselves with the historical statement of facts, and with a vague reference of laws to the wisdom of particular legislators, or to accidental circumstances, which it is now impossible to ascertain. Montesquieu, on the contrary, considered laws as originating chiefly from the circumstances of society; and attempted to account, from the changes in the condition of mankind, which take place in the different stages of their progress, for the corresponding alteration which their institutions undergo.³

And in his *Dissertation exhibiting the progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, since the Revival of Letters in Europe*, Stewart makes the following general statement concerning the influence of Montesquieu, chiefly in the field of jurisprudence:

This view of law, which unites History and Philosophy with Jurisprudence, has been followed out with remarkable success by various authors since Montesquieu's time; and for a considerable number of years after the publication of the *Spirit of Laws*, became so very fashionable (particularly in this country) that many seem to have considered it, not as a step toward a farther end, but as exhausting the whole science of Jurisprudence.⁴

¹ Of some influence also, though less frequently referred to, may have been the *Lettres Persanes*, especially Lettres XI-XIV which tell of the Troglodytes. These letters, however, are not thoroughly primitivistic, for "le bonheur d'une condition toujours parée de l'innocence" is shown to be not an inherent or inevitable characteristic of primitive man, but an outcome of the recognition on the part of several of the leaders of the tribe that "l'intérêt des particuliers se trouve toujours dans l'intérêt commun" (Lettre XII).

² "Life of Adam Smith," p. xvii.

³ "Life of Adam Smith," p. xliii. See also p. xlii.

⁴ *Collected Works* (Edinburgh, 1854), I, 191.

Kames in his *Sketches*, after arguing against Montesquieu's theory of the modifying influence of climate, adds, "I stop here; for to enter the lists against an antagonist of so great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground."¹ The following is Ferguson's sweeping acknowledgment of his dependence on Montesquieu:

When I recollect what the President Montesquieu has written, I am at a loss to tell, why I should treat of human affairs: but I too am instigated by my reflections, and my sentiments. . . . In his writings will be found, not only the original of what I am now, for the sake of order, to copy from him, but likewise probably the source of many observations, which, in different places, I may, under the belief of invention, have repeated without quoting their author.²

In this connection there is an anecdote reported by Alexander Carlyle which bears further testimony to Smith's use of Montesquieu. Smith had accused Ferguson of borrowing material from him without acknowledging it. Ferguson denied it, but "owned he derived many notions from a French author, and that Smith had been there before him."³

The external ties between the Scottish primitivists and Montesquieu were many and various, not the least curious being the fact that Lord Morton and Lord Elibank ordered their wines from him.⁴ A letter from Lord Morton to Montesquieu further reveals the fact that Montesquieu's son was a member of the Philosophical Society for a while.⁵ Hume corresponded with Montesquieu from time to time. There is one letter from Hume to Montesquieu written in 1749 on the subject of *L'Esprit des Lois*. Unfortunately for our purposes the points that Hume takes up are chiefly historical, but Hume's enthusiastic commendation is interesting: "Vous voyez, Monsieur, avec quel empressement je saisis la première occasion de me faire connaître à un homme dont j'admire le génie et dont j'aime et j'estime l'humanité et la grandeur d'âme."⁶ Hume assisted Montesquieu in the 1750 Edinburgh edition of *L'Esprit des Lois* and there was some correspondence between them in regard to that.⁷ The connecting

¹ *Sketches*, I, 62.

² *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 98. ³ Carlyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-85.

⁴ *Correspondance de Montesquieu* (Paris, 1914), II, 539.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 459 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 169-77.

⁷ Burton, *Life and Letters of Hume*, I, 304, 456-58.

link between Montesquieu and Ferguson was of quite a different sort. According to John Small, in his life of Ferguson,

It was his relation to the family of Joseph Black, which was probably the indirect means of forming Ferguson's own philosophical views. The father of Dr. Black had been a wine merchant at Bourdeaux, and when residing there enjoyed the intimate friendship of the great Montesquieu, who was the president of the parliament or the court of justice of that province. The letters and scraps of correspondence which passed between Montesquieu and Mr. Black, the descendants of the latter preserved as though they had been titles of honor belonging to their race.¹

It is interesting to note that Montesquieu did not lack for admirers even among the Aberdeeners. Among the letters to Montesquieu is one full of hyperbole from Thomas Blackwell. A single sentence will suffice to give an idea of the tone of the whole. "Accept then, Sir, my cordial thanks for the high entertainment and instruction I have reaped from your works and for the important service you have done to the grand interests of the human Race: Liberty, Humanity and Learning."²

As for Rousseau, it has been customary to hold him responsible for much of the interest in the "noble savage" and his simple and wholesome manner of living. The truth of the matter is, however, that, in spite of the fact that Rousseau was in 1766 and 1767 closely connected with the writers on primitivistic theory through his friendship with Hume, his influence during the formative period of these ideas in England was very slight in comparison with the influence of Montesquieu.

In the first place Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* was not published until 1755 and as we have seen, the discussions of problems connected with primitive man were prevalent a decade and more before. Adam Smith, in his *Letter to the Authors of the Edinburgh Review*, would seem to imply that if there were any cross-influence, it was in the opposite direction from that generally assumed by modern critics:

But Mr. Hobbes, Mr. Locke, and Dr. Mandeville, Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Butler, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Hutcheson, have all of them, according to

¹ "Biographical Sketch of Adam Ferguson," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1864), XXIII, 663. Ferguson speaks of the relations between Dr. Black and Montesquieu in his "Minutes of the Life and Character of Joseph Black, M.D.," *ibid.*, V (1801), Part II, 102.

² *Correspondance*, II, 372-75.

their different and inconsistent systems, endeavoured at least to be, in some measure, original, and to add something to that stock of observations with which the world had been furnished before them. This branch of the English philosophy which seems now to be entirely neglected by the English themselves, has of late, been transported into France. I observe some traces of it, not only in the *Encyclopédie*, but in the *Theory of agreeable sentiments*, by Mr. de Pouilly, a work that is in many respects original; and above all, in the late *Discourse upon the origin and foundation of the inequality amongst mankind*, by Mr. Rousseau of Geneva.¹

Rousseau's essay Smith attributes directly to the influence of Mandeville:

Whoever reads this last work with attention will observe that the second volume of the *Fable of the Bees* has given occasion to the system of Rousseau. . . . Dr. Mandeville represents the primitive state of mankind as the most wretched and miserable that can be imagined: Mr. Rousseau on the contrary, paints it as the happiest and most suitable to his nature. . . . Both of them however suppose the same slow progress and gradual development of all the talents, habits, and arts which fit men to live together in society and they both describe this progress pretty much in the same manner.²

Many of the contemporary Scottish references to Rousseau not only do not acknowledge any acceptance of his ideas but pass him by as a curious and spectacular, but not very notable thinker. Smith, for example, in the article just cited remarks that "by the help of his style, together with a little philosophical chemistry," he has made "the principles and ideas of the profligate Mandeville seem to have all the purity and simplicity of the morals of Plato, and to be only the true spirit of a republican carried a little too far."³ Further, in his *Essay on the Imitative Arts*, he calls Rousseau, "an author more capable of feeling strongly than of analysing accurately."⁴ Ferguson and Kames both speak disparagingly of some of his ideas.⁵ Monboddo is an outstanding exception. He agrees with Rousseau on many points and acknowledges having read his treatise.⁶

Thus Rousseau, while he may have played a considerable part, after about 1760, in the formulating of romantic ideas about a relatively primitive state of society, can in no way be said to be respon-

¹ *The Edinburgh Review*, II, 72-73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁴ *Essays*, p. 165.

⁵ Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, pp. 7-8; Kames, *Sketches*, II, 157, note.

⁶ *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, I, ix.

sible for the origin of those ideas. Primitivistic theories in England, and in France also, were well under way before he made any notable contribution to the subject,¹ and even when he did contribute to it in his *Essai sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, he did not make as great an impression on English thinkers as has often been supposed.

III. PRIMITIVISTIC THEORIES

1. *Idealization of primitive man.*—The primitivistic attitude toward the epic is really part of the widespread movement in the middle of the eighteenth century toward the idealization of primitive man. Not that this idealization was an entirely new thing. As we shall see in the discussion of sources, it represents an enduring tendency which can be traced as far back as the very beginning of classical literature. But the interest in primitive man became very much more general at this time. He was discussed by the philosophers;² he entered into the theories of government, into the discussion of social problems, and of the origin of law and other civil institutions. Finally, idealized primitive man entered into the discussion of literature and appreciably modified the critical attitude.

I have said "idealized" primitive man, for the idealization was almost a necessary preliminary to the interest in his language and the glorification of his poetry which ensued. The primitivists recognized the martial virtues of primitive man—his courage, animal strength, and stoicism in suffering;³ but perhaps more than these qualities they loved to contemplate a certain simplicity in his nature and freedom from restraint which led to a spontaneous and natural expression of the emotions. Further, because of this simplicity in

¹ See A. O. Lovejoy, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*," *Modern Philology*, XXI, 165-86.

² Lack of space prevents my reviewing the growing interest in primitive man among the philosophers from the time of Hobbes to the middle of the eighteenth century. The following are, however, of special importance: Hobbes, *The English Works* (London, 1839), Vol. III, *Leviathan*, Part I, pp. 112 ff.; Locke, *Treatise on Gov.*, II (London, 1698), Secs. VI, XIX, CXI, and *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Book III (remarks on words and the formation of language); Shaftesbury, *Essay on Wit and Humour*, Part III, Sec. II; *Moralists*, Part II, Sec. IV, Part IV, Sec. IV; *Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*, Part II, Sec. I; *Miscellany*, IV, chap. II; *Soliloquy or Advice to an Author*, Part II, Secs. I and II; Pope, *Essay on Man*, Ep. III, ll. 148-52 (cf. Warburton's comment in *Works of Alexander Pope*, London, 1757, III, 94); Bolinbroke, *Works* (Philadelphia, 1841), IV, 111, 145, 150, 157, 162, 170, 213, etc., and III, 398-99; Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees* (Edinburgh, 1772), II, 191 ff., 199, 221 ff., 238 ff.

³ See in this connection F. E. Farley, "The Dying Indian," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), pp. 251 ff.

the life of primitive man, they thought that he must be very good and very happy—or, as Monboddo expressed it after reading Keate's account of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands, he is "a generous, noble minded animal, full of benevolence and kindness to his species."¹ These virtues of simplicity and innocence were accompanied by a "tranquillity and composure of Mind, which is rarely to be found in civilized Man."²

It became the fashion among the writers of the third quarter of the century to mark out certain stages in the development of primitive society. Macpherson defines three stages of which the first, as it is "formed on nature, so, of course it is the most disinterested and noble."³ He implies that the time of Ossian was at the end of the first period. Of this period he says further:

The nobler passions of the mind never shoot forth more free and unrestrained than in these times we call barbarous. That irregular manner of life, and those manly pursuits from which barbarity takes its name, are highly favorable to a strength of mind unknown to polished times.⁴

Blair uses essentially the same division, except that he sees four stages—the stage of the hunter, of pasturage, of agriculture, and of commerce.⁵ He also places Ossian in the first stage. Dunbar, in the *Essay on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*, finds three stages—the first, practically an animal state before the invention of language, and the second, the state of greatest virtue when man was "a member of that artless community which consists with equality, with freedom, and independence."⁶ Pinkerton, finally, defines three primitive stages: first the savage stage and the period of barbaric poetry, second the pastoral stage, and third the middle state between barbarism and civilization. "The Iliad, if not written during the third, is yet a living picture of its manners: and it is to this, as much as to any other circumstance, that it owes its wonderful superiority."⁷

¹ *Antient Metaphysics, or the Science of Universals* (Edinburgh, 1779-90), IV, 56, note.

² *Ibid.*, III, 201. Cf. Gregory, *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World* (London, 1766), pp. viii-ix.

³ "A Dissertation concerning the Poems of Ossian," in *Ossian* (New York, 1806), II, 158.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 148.

⁵ "A Critical Dissertation of the Poems of Ossian," in *Ossian* (New York, 1806), II, 206-7.

⁶ *Op. cit.* (London, 1780), pp. 2-3. ⁷ *Letters of Literature* (London, 1785), pp. 5-6.

One of the most ecstatic pictures of the primitive poet is that of William Duff:

Happily exempted from that tormenting ambition, and those vexatious desires, which trouble the current of modern life, he wanders with a serene, contented heart, through walks and groves consecrated to the Muses; or, indulging a sublime, pensive, and sweetly-soothing melancholy, strays with a slow and solemn step, through the unfrequented desert, along the naked beach, or the bleak and barren heath. In such a situation, every theme is a source of inspiration, whether he describes the beauties of nature, which he surveys with transport; or the peaceful innocence of those happy times, which are so wonderfully soothing and pleasing to the imagination.

And then, fearing lest he had gone too far in his eulogy to be believed, Duff defends himself with,

Perhaps we may be thought to refine too much on this point; and it may be questioned whether such tranquillity and innocence as we have above supposed have ever existed in any state of society. To this we may answer, That though the traditionary or even historical accounts of the early ages, are not much to be depended on; yet those ancient original poems which we have in our hands, give us reason to think that a certain innocence of manners, accompanied with that tranquillity which is its consequence, prevailed among those people whom we are not ashamed to call barbarous, in a much higher degree than in more modern and cultivated periods.¹

2. *Primitive language and the beginnings of poetry.*—Interest in the language of the savage led on the one hand to a philosophical and philological consideration of the origin and development of language, and on the other hand to an analysis of the language of primitive man as a vehicle for poetic expression. The growing interest in the problems connected with the origin of language, reflected in Adam Smith's *Considerations concerning the first Formation of Languages* (1761), Richard Wynnes's *Observations on the Ancient and Modern Languages* (1761), James Harris' *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar* (1765), James Parson's *Remains of Japhet: being Historical Enquiries into the Affinity and Origin of European Languages* (1767), and Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Languages* (1773–92), offers a fruitful field for investigation, but it is beyond the scope of the present inquiry, for the significant question here is not how language came into being but what characteristics it was popularly supposed to have among barbarous nations.

¹ *An Essay on Original Genius* (London, 1767), pp. 271–73.

The primitivists seized eagerly on the classical idea that poetry antedated prose. "Poetry is as old as mankind, coeval with the human race," wrote Gildon early in the century.¹ Blackwell discusses the idea and attempts to give a rational explanation of it:

They [the Ancients] thought, it shou'd seem, that *Language* was the first Tamer of Men, and its Origin to have been certain rude accidental Sounds, which that naked Company of scrambling Mortals emitted by Chance. . . . Neither the Syllables, nor the Tone could be ascertained; but when they put several of these *vocal* Marks together, they wou'd seem to sing. . . . And hence came the ancient Opinion, "That Poetry was before Prose."²

The idea of the priority of poetry was repeated with embellishments and explanations by such writers as Mallet in his *Northern Antiquities*,³ Percy in *An Essay on the Ancient Minstrels in England*,⁴ Kames in his *Sketches of the History of Man*,⁵ Ferguson in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*,⁶ and Pinkerton in his *Dissertation on the Oral Tradition of Poetry*.⁷ Blair expresses himself characteristically on the subject:

It is a great error to imagine, that Poetry and Music are Arts which belong only to polished nations. They have their foundation in the nature of man, and belong to all nations and all ages. . . . In order to explore the rise of Poetry, we must have recourse to the deserts and the wilds; we must go back to the age of hunters and of shepherds; to the highest antiquity; and to the simplest form of manners among mankind.⁸

With this idea of the priority of poetry to prose as a foundation, not only did it seem perfectly plausible to the primitivist that poetical geniuses should thrive in barbarous ages, but, according to their theories, it was practically inevitable. The simple manners which prevailed in such a stage of society were supposed to be "peculiarly favourable to such exertion,"⁹ for they led to sincerity and directness in the expression of emotions. The sentiments and passions of that

¹ *The Laws of Poetry* (London, 1721), p. 14. See also his *Compleat Art of Poetry* (London, 1718), p. 47.

² *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, pp. 37-38. Cf. Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (London, 1769), p. 83.

³ Edinburgh, 1809, I, 321.

⁴ Edinburgh and London, 1778, I, 222.

⁵ *Reliques* (Philadelphia, 1823), III, 2.

⁶ Edinburgh, 1767, pp. 263-64.

⁷ *Scottish Tragic Ballads* (London, 1781), pp. ix-x.

⁸ *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London and Edinburgh, 1783), II, 313-14.

⁹ Duff, *Essay on Genius*, p. 269.

time were the "dictates of nature, unmixed and undisguised."¹ The poet was fully supplied with the "scenery of heroic action," for "in such times danger is to be encountered with courage, friendship preserved with fidelity and ardent affection. Wrongs are resented with extreme animosity. If a genius be found that is fit to seize the sublime in human character, he will not need the leading of former examples."²

There is something almost pathetic in the enthusiasm of the eighteenth century for the freedom and spontaneity with which the primitive bard was supposed to give expression to his feelings. His poetry is described by the primitivists as "impetuous."³ It is the "effusion of a glowing fancy and an impassioned heart,"⁴ or the "effusion of fancy actuated by the passions."⁵ It has always the "same enthusiasm and fire, the same wild and irregular, but animated Composition, concise and glowing Style."⁶ It comprised "the whole burst of the human mind; the whole exertion of its imaginative faculties. It spoke the language of passion."⁷ The poet was "lost in tempestuous passions, which call forth extraordinary exertions of the mind. Such exertions form the very life and soul of poetry."⁸ The poetry therefore was "warm, rapid, and tempestuous."⁹ But it was more than that: it was spontaneous. "The early Bard arose and sung," remarks Blair epigrammatically. "He sung indeed in wild and disorderly strains; but they were the native effusions of his heart."¹⁰

Besides being spontaneous, direct, and sincere, primitive poetry is described, on its rhetorical side, as being unusually figurative in style. This quality of style was attributed partly to the heightened emotional and imaginative forces, that we have just discussed, and partly to the limitations of the primitive vocabulary.¹⁰ Blackwell had discussed this second cause in his *Enquiry*:

But . . . it is certain, that the *primitive Parts* of the Languages reputed *Original*, are many of them rough, undeclined, impersonal Monosyllables;

¹ Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

² Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (Edinburgh, 1792), I, 292.

³ Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 322.

⁶ Pinkerton, *Oral Trad.*, p. x.

⁷ Pinkerton, *Letters of Literature*, p. 4.

⁸ Blair, *Lectures*, II, 318.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 322-23.

¹⁰ Blair, *Critical Dissertation* (New York, 1810), I, 88.

expressive commonly of the *highest Passions*, and most *striking Objects* that present themselves in *solitary savage Life*. From this Deduction, it is plain that any Language, formed as above described, must be full of Metaphor; and that Metaphor of the boldest, daring and most natural kind.¹

He is followed in his reasonings by Blair:

Men never have used so many figures of style, as in those rude ages, when, besides the power of a warm imagination to suggest lively images, the want of proper and precise terms for the ideas they would express, obliged them to have recourse to circumlocution, metaphor, comparison, and all those substituted forms of expression, which give a poetical air to language.²

All the primitivists agree on the metaphorical quality of early poetry. Blair observes that it had formerly been customary to associate this type of style with oriental literature, "whereas, from the American style, and from many other instances, it plainly appears now to have been common to all nations, in certain periods of Society and Language."³ Thomas Warton makes the same observation in his discussion of runic odes. He describes their "fantastic imagery" and their "sublime and figurative cast of diction," and goes on to remark that this is the characteristic not of "Asiaticism" alone but of all early poetry: "A propensity to this mode of expression is necessarily occasioned by the poverty of their language."⁴

3. *The primitive bard as historian: rise of the epic*.—Some of the primitivists saw the origin of poetry in the praise of the deity, others in the song, music, and dance of the festival of victory where the heroic deeds of the tribal ancestors were recited. Still others defined a progression from religious poetry to that of victory and heroism. It is of course the latter type of poetry which more nearly concerns us.

Of all the primitivists, Brown traces most elaborately the development of poetry from the combination of music, song, and dance at the festival, in his *Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions of Poetry and Music*, 1763, but Adam Smith has an interesting conjectural account of the origin

¹ *Op. cit.* (1735 ed.), pp. 40-41.

² *Crit. Diss.*, I, 88. See also *Lectures*, I, 112-13, and Ferguson, *Essay*, pp. 266-67.

³ *Lectures*, I, 114-15.

⁴ "Of the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe," *History of English Poetry* (London, 1824), I, xxx-xxxi.

of poetry which may possibly be somewhat earlier.¹ The latter connects it with the union of music and dancing wherein the human voice furnished the first music:

In singing, or in its first attempts towards singing, it would naturally employ words of some kind or other, pronouncing them only in time and measure, and generally with a more melodious tone than had been usual in common conversation. Those words, however, might not, and probably would not, for a long time have any meaning, but might resemble the syllables which we make use of in *sol-fa-ing*, or the *derry-down-down* of our common ballads; and serve only to assist the voice in forming sounds proper to be modulated into melody, and to be lengthened or shortened according to the time and measure of the tune. This rude form of vocal Music, as it is by far the most simple and obvious, so it naturally would be the first and earliest.

In the succession of ages it could not fail to occur, that in the room of those unmeaning or musical words, if I may call them so, might be substituted words which expressed some sense or meaning, and of which the pronunciation might coincide as exactly with the time and measure of the tune, as that of the musical words had done before. Hence the origin of Verse or poetry. The Verse would for a long time be rude and imperfect.²

Brown does not go farther than this in his analysis of the actual composition of the first lines of poetry, but he analyzes more elaborately the primitive passions which find expression in "Action, Voice, and articulate Sounds," traces the development farther, and gives more illustrative material. For proof of the fact that these three arts are constantly united in primitive tribes, Brown says:

We may appeal to most of the Travellers who describe the Scenes of uncultivated Nature: All these agree in telling us, that *Melody, Dance, and Song*, make up the ruling Pastime, adorn the Feasts, compose the Religion, fix the Manners, strengthen the Policy, and even form the future Paradise of savage Man.³

From the whole company of singers and dancers at the feast, the bard gradually emerged. He is variously described and defined by the primitivists, but most of them agree that his chief duty for a considerable period in the development of society was to preserve the chronicle of heroic deeds.

¹ *Of the Nature of that Imitation which takes place in what are called the Imitative Arts*, posthumously published in 1795 but possibly written as early as 1748-50. See Bonar, *Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, p. xiii.

² *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (London, 1795), pp. 149-50.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 21. Cf. Blair, *Lectures*, II, 314.

Blackwell had pictured the bards as strolling singers, "a Set of Men who distinguished themselves by *Harmony and Verse*."¹ Brown, however, thinks that the earliest bards were more than this. The office of chief or legislator, according to him, would be identical with that of bard: "for we find, that, among the savage Tribes, the *Chiefs* are they who most signalize themselves by *Dance and Song*; and that their *Songs* rowl principally on the *great Actions and Events* which concern their *own Nation*."² The offices of bard and legislator in the later stages were separated, but the bard was still retained as "assistant to the *Magistrate* in the high Task of governing the People."³ However this may be, it is certain that according to most primitivists the bard was an historian. Bolingbroke pointed out this fact in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*:

To go no farther back, the triumphs of Odin were celebrated in runic songs, and the feats of our British ancestors were recorded in those of their bards. The savages of America have the same custom at this day; and long historical ballads of their huntings and their wars are sung at all their festivals.⁴

Toland divides the Celtic bards into three classes, the chronologers, the heralds, and the comic or satiric poets.⁵ Kames writes that "Bards were capital persons at every festival and at every solemnity. Their songs, which, by recording the achievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, must have been the entertainment of every warlike nation."⁶ Blair speaks of the "celebration of famed ancestors, the recital of martial deeds, songs of victory, and songs of lamentation."⁷ Percy, drawing on Mallet, speaks of the Scalds as uniting the characters of "historian, genealogist, poet, and musician."⁸ Finally, both Brown and Pinkerton survey the primitive poets of many countries and show that they all held the office of historian.⁹

¹ *Enquiry* (1735), p. 104.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 77. Gregory repeats this idea (*Comparative View*, p. 119) in almost the same words as those used by Brown.

⁴ *Works* (Philadelphia, 1841), II, 176.

⁵ John Toland, "A Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning," in *A Collection of Several Pieces* (London, 1726), I, 25. See also Evan Evans, *De Bardis Dissertatio* (London, 1764). For other eighteenth-century references to the Celtic bard, see John Sinclair's "Dissertation on the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems," in *The Poems of Ossian*, published by the Highland Society of London (London, 1807), I, xvii-xxiii.

⁶ *Sketches*, I, 224-25. ⁷ *Lectures*, II, 318. See also *Crit. Diss.* (1810), I, 101-3.

⁸ "On the Ancient Minstrels," *Reliques* (London, 1847), I, xxix. Mallet, *op. cit.*, I, 321 ff.

⁹ Brown, *op. cit.*, Secs. V-XI, and Pinkerton, *Oral Trad.*, pp. x-xvii.

It was but a step from the recognition of the rôle of the bard as historian to the assumption that the bard was the first composer of epic poetry. In regard to this opinion Blackwell, as early as 1735, had created a considerable impression on the later primitivists by emphasizing the classical tradition that Homer, himself, was a strolling bard.¹ Brown, tracing the steps in the development of poetry, describes the rise of the epic thus:

The *Epic Poem* would naturally arise, and be sung by its Composers at their public Solemnities. For it appears above, that their earliest Histories would be written in Verse, and make a Part of their public Song Feasts. Now the *Epic Poem* is but a Kind of *fabulous History*, rowling chiefly on the great Actions of ancient Gods and Heroes, and artificially composed under certain limitations with Respect to its *Manner*, for the Ends of Pleasure, Admiration, and Instruction.²

Similarly Harris, in his *Philological Studies*, writes: "It appears, that not only in Greece, but in other countries, more barbarous, the first writings were in metre, and of an epic cast, recording wars, battles, heroes, ghosts; the marvellous always, and after the incredible."³ Percy not only indorses the idea that epic poetry might be a product of the early bard, but he reinforces the theory with an example (one which we should scarcely call a primitive poem: *Libius Disconius*) to show:

Nature and common sense had supplied to these old simple bards the want of critical art, and taught them some of the most essential rules of Epic Poetry. . . . If an Epic Poem may be defined as "A fable related by a poet, to excite admiration, and inspire virtue, by representing the action of some one hero, favoured by heaven, who executes a great design, in spite of all the obstacles that oppose him": I know not why we should withhold the name of Epic Poem from the piece which I am about to analyse.⁴

4. *Homer and Ossian as primitive poets.*—Having developed their theories to the point where they believed that real epic poetry could be a product of the early bard, the primitivists found their most impressive and convenient illustrations in the poems of Homer and Ossian. Duff writes:

While the works of Homer and Ossian however are in our hands, these, without any other examples, will be sufficient to establish the truth of the first part of our assertion, that in the early periods of society, original Poetic Genius will in general be exerted in its utmost vigour.⁵

¹ *Enquiry* (1735), pp. 107 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

³ *Works* (Oxford, 1841), p. 400.

⁴ *Ant. Met. Romances*, III, 20.

⁵ *Essay on Genius*, p. 286.

Homer and Ossian, as he implies, are his two prime examples of original genius in poetry and he illustrates their originality categorically under the heads of invention of incidents, character, "vivid and picturesque description," and "irregular greatness, wildness, and enthusiasm of imagination."¹

Brown finds in Ossian a "noble Confirmation" of his ideas about primitive poetry. The songs, according to him, must have been composed during the second stage in the development of poetry and music "when the Bard's profession had separated from that of the legislator."² He dilates on the proofs of antiquity: "Such are the grand Simplicity of Imagery and Diction, the strong Draughts of rude Manners and uncultivated Scenes of Nature, which abound in all these Poems; Pictures which no civilized modern could imbibe in their Strength."³

But Blair is most ingenious in finding in Ossian an illustration of his primitivistic theories and he makes an elaborate comparison between the poems of Ossian and Homer, for "Homer is of all the great poets, the one whose manner, and whose time come the nearest to Ossian's,"⁴ and "Homer knew no more of the laws of criticism than Ossian."⁵ His comparison, interestingly enough, is by no means to the disparagement of Ossian, nor was that of John Gordon in his *Occasional Thoughts on the Study and Character of Classical Authors* (London, 1762). The reviewer of this book tells us that Gordon "very justly represents Ossian as a poet who exactly copied nature in his descriptions, in which particular he gives him the preference to Homer."⁶ A dramatic reversal! Whereas Homer was scorned in the Restoration period for not being as polished as Virgil, he is now blamed for not being as truly primitive as Ossian.

It is scarcely necessary, however, to cite passages in which the poems of Ossian have been found to give a "noble confirmation" of primitivistic theories, for it is not surprising that a work which must have been at least partly instigated by those theories should afford an illustration of them. The attitude toward Homer seems somewhat more surprising at first sight but follows almost as inevitably. Begin-

¹ *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry* (London, 1770), pp. 4 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 127-28

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁶ *Critical Review*, XIV. 44.

ning with Blackwell, there is a growing tendency to push back toward barbarism the stage of society in which Homer lived, until Homer himself became in some cases little more than a glorified barbarian.

Even before Blackwell, Addison, although his general attitude toward Homer and the epic is that of the Aristotelian formalists, has a passage which points in this direction:

Many of these great natural geniuses that were never disciplined and broken by rules of art, are to be found among the ancients, and in particular among those of the more eastern parts of the world. Homer has innumerable flights that Virgil was not able to reach, and in the old Testament we find several passages more elevated and sublime than any in Homer.¹

But after Blackwell, with the elaboration of primitivistic theories, the idea gathered force. Joseph Warton, in *Adventurer*, No. 80, mentions as one of the strong appeals of the *Odyssey* the picture that it affords of the life of the heroic ages—"the primeval, I was about to say, patriarchal simplicity of manners."² Hurd speaks of Homer as writing "in the *simple ages of learning*, when, as yet, composition was not turned into an *art*, but every writer, especially of vehement and impetuous genius, is contented to put down his *first thoughts*"³—this in his notes to Horace's *Epistola ad Augustum*, 1751. In his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762, he discusses at length the "heroic age" in which Homer wrote, but he compares that age, not with very primitive states of society as other writers were doing, but with the age of chivalry. Just how primitive he considered the age of chivalry to be is another, and an interesting, question.

Turning to some of the Scottish writers we find Homer classed with the primitive poets, used to illustrate the style of primitive poetry, and eulogized as a great original genius. Ferguson, for example, after the customary praise of the early poet who "delivers the emotions of the heart, in words suggested by the heart," concludes:

And hence it is, that while we admire the judgement and invention of Virgil, and of other later poets, these terms appear misapplied to Homer. Though intelligent, as well as sublime, in his conceptions, we cannot anticipate the lights of his understanding, nor the movements of his heart: he appears to speak from inspiration, not from invention; and to be guided in the choice of his thought and expressions by a supernatural instinct, not by reflection.⁴

¹ *Spectator*, No. 160 (New York, 1897), II, 283.

² *Works* (London, 1811), I, 369.

³ *British Essayists*, XX, 257-58.

⁴ *Essay*, pp. 265-66.

The reader who turns to Homer, according to Blair, "must reckon upon finding characters and manners, that retain a considerable tincture of the savage state; moral ideas, as yet imperfectly formed; and the appetites and passions of men brought under none of those restraints, to which in a more advanced state of Society, they are accustomed."¹ Duff speaks of Homer as living among a people, "as yet but little civilized," and as having no model "except that of nature, which lay open to his view."² Gerard makes the same points. Homer "lived in times of ignorance, when poetry remained almost in its first rudeness," but "he notwithstanding, merely by the force of his own abilities, brought the noblest species of poetry all at once to its just perfection."³ Monboddo places Homer in the next generation after the men of the heroic age, "that is, an Age of Men of extraordinary size and strength of Body as well as of Mind."⁴ According to Kames, "Homer lived in a rude age, little advance in useful arts, and still less in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan War are described by him as in a progress from the shepherd state to that of agriculture."⁵

I have put these more or less incidental remarks about Homer together, although some of them were published somewhat after the first edition of Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (1769), which is the most formal study of the subject in this period. Wood's *Essay* is an interesting successor to Blackwell's *Enquiry*. Blackwell had set himself the task of explaining Homer as a phenomenon. Wood denies that Homer is as much of a phenomenon as critics have made him. They have read into his works learning and moral purposes that are not there. To Wood, Homer is simply an early poet living in a primitive state of society.

As for the period in which Homer wrote in relation to the time of the events he describes, Wood writes,

We may suppose, that he was born not long after the siege of Troy: and had finished both his poems about half a century after the town was taken. That, as the first interesting stories he heard, were, when a boy, of the exploits performed there; so in his riper years he had still an opportunity of conversing with the old men, who had been engaged in it; that their

¹ *Lectures*, II, 428-29.

² *Original Genius*, p. 3.

³ *Of Genius* (London, 1774), pp. 10-11.

⁴ *Ant. Met.*, III, 106.

⁵ *Sketches*, I, 276.

immediate descendants were his contemporaries: that he knew their grandchildren; and saw the birth of their great-grandchildren; which made the fourth generation from Aeneas.¹

Wood has the characteristic primitivistic attitude. It does not puzzle him to explain how poetry in those rude times could have acquired "a greater degree of perfection than it has ever since attained." It was that very state of society which "produced that noble simplicity of language unknown to polished ages," and,

Though the venerable beauties of that antiquated style must, in some degree, strike every reader; yet we cannot do it justice without looking back to the times it describes; it is only from a knowledge of those early times, that we improve a relish of its beauties, and find an apology for its faults.²

For a parallel to and a confirmation of the primitive manners described by Homer and Ossian, other writers had been content to turn to the accounts of the travelers, but Wood draws on his own experience as a traveler. He parallels elaborately Homeric society with the society of the interior of Arabia, which offers "a perpetual and inexhaustible store of the aboriginal modes and customs of primeval life."³ It is unnecessary to go into the details of the comparison. The point of view and the method are the significant things.

Wood defeats one by one the old critical tenets which had been an inheritance from Renaissance criticism. It had been the opinion of former critics that Homer wrote with a conscious moral purpose. On this score Wood writes: "Nor can I help thinking (without offence to the father of criticism) that the Greek Poet found great part of his moral in his fable; and did not, like Virgil, invent a fable for his moral."⁴ In the next place, Homer's works had been supposed to conceal allegorically a great deal of wisdom and learning—"those secrets of Nature, and that physical philosophy, which he is supposed to have wrapt up in allegory," as Wood expresses it. "I could wish," writes Wood, "that those, who think so highly of the mysterious wisdom of the ancients, and take so much pains to explain their dark mode of conveying profound knowledge would tell us, by what method they acquired it."⁵ It had been customary to attribute much of Homer's learning to the teaching of Egypt, but

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 134 (London, 1824).

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

Wood attempts to prove that "Egypt, though civilized, when Greece was in a state of barbarity, never got beyond mediocrity, either in the arts of peace or war."¹ "Though the persons, and perhaps some of the action, of his fable, might have been originally taken from Egypt and the East: yet we know that his figures, I may say portraits, are his own; and the scenery of his Mythology is Grecian."² Wood surveys the learning of the Homeric age³ to show not only that it was in a primitive condition but that Homer's picture is a genuine reflection of his time, and he remarks pointedly that "as he painted what he saw with so much truth, I fancy, we are too apt to think he knew much more than he painted."⁴

As for the conventional attitude of the critics toward Homer's language and style, Wood remarks:

Professed scholars and critics in the Greek tongue, confine their observations principally to its state of perfection, without considering how long Homer lived before that period. They complimented him for having enriched his language with the different dialects of Greece; though the distinction of dialects can be only known to a cultivated, and in some degree, settled state of language, as deviations from an acknowledged standard. . . . They point out his poetical licenses; forgetting that, in his time, there were no composition in prose. . . . They settle his pronunciation by an alphabet which he did not know, and by characters he never saw.⁵

But Wood's chief contribution to the Homeric scholarship of his day is his statement that writing was not known in the age of Homer. The idea that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had been originally composed in the form of short "ballads" which were collected several generations later and cast into their present form had a foundation in classical tradition and was frequently repeated at this time, but in the references to this idea there was usually the implication that the ballads were written. Thus the Preface to the *Collection of Old Ballads*, 1723, containing this statement: "The very Prince of Poets, old Homer, if we may trust ancient Records, was nothing more than a blind Ballad-singer, who writ Songs of the Siege of Troy, and the Adventures of Ulysses; and playing the Tunes upon his Harp, sung 'em from Door to Door."⁶ And in *The World*, No. 149, we read,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 161 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46.

⁶ *A Collection of Old Ballads . . . with Introductions Historical, Critical, or Humorous* (London, 1723), I, iii.

"With regard to the antiquity of this profession, in all probability, we owe the invention of it to old Homer himself, who hawked his *Iliad* about the streets for an *obolus* a book."¹ It was not until after the publication of Wood's *Essay* that Pinkerton, in this same connection, maintained that these "ballads" were preserved by oral tradition: "Nor were his [Homer's] poems rescued from the uncertain fame of tradition, and committed to writing till some time after his death."²

Among the French critics before Wood, Goguet³ in a book entitled *De l'Origine des lois, des arts, et des sciences*, 1758, had come almost to the point of saying that writing was not known in the Homeric age and gives all the reasons for such an opinion, but he is not quite willing to take the final step. He points out that Homer refers to no correspondence, or order given in writing, except the letter of Bellerophon, and that even in that case Homer may have been referring to hieroglyphics, but—"Nevertheless I have thought I ought to follow the common manner of interpreting this passage."⁴

Wood is very positive in the matter. He points out that while poetry is known to reach a high stage of perfection among primitive people, writing is an art that could only develop in a state of society capable of "much deep thought and reflection." He gives the same internal proof from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that Goguet had offered, and adds further:

Perhaps we cannot give a better account of the policy of obliging the youths to get by heart Homer's Catalogue, and ordering his works to be publicly recited at the Panathenaeon ceremonies, than by considering them as regulations relative to a state of society ignorant of writing, or at least unprovided with the materials necessary to reap the benefit of the invention, which were extremely scarce even for ages after that time. If this reasoning be admitted to have any weight, it will allow us to fix the common familiar use of an alphabet in Greece, and prose writing, to pretty much the same period, viz., about five hundred and fifty-four years before Christ.⁵

¹ *British Essayists*, XXIV, 69. See also Wakefield, *Warbling Muses* (1749), p. xi.

² *Oral Trad.*, p. xli.

³ For French writers who had treated this question before Goguet, see G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), p. 211.

⁴ *The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences* (Edinburgh, 1761), II, 236.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156-57.

It remained for a German scholar at the end of the century to take the final step and abolish Homer himself.

IV. SOME SOURCES OF PRIMITIVISTIC IDEAS

The two main sources of eighteenth-century theories about primitive man seem to have been classical literature and learning, inexplicable as such a source may appear on the surface, and the books of travel which were greatly multiplying in number during the eighteenth century. To these two chief influences ought to be added that of contemporary French thought. The interrelations of French and English critical ideas in this field, however, offer an intricate and interesting subject which I shall reserve for a later article.

There are many questions involved in the widespread interest in the natural history of man which was engaging the best thinkers of the middle of the century. Was dissatisfaction with political and social conditions the principal motive force which prompted a study of the beginnings of society and government? Or was the wider acquaintance with primitive society which was brought about by the travelers the occasion for the dissatisfaction with civil society of the eighteenth century? Or was the explanation simply a scientific curiosity and a wholesale enthusiasm for the historic method? These questions offer abundant opportunity for speculation—and not unprofitable speculation—but I shall be obliged to confine myself to a discussion of the more tangible phases of the problem, and offer such testimony as is afforded by the primitivists themselves as to their actual sources.

One point comes out clearly, and that is that the interest in and idealization of primitive man is perennial—emphasized more, it is true, in some periods than others, but persistently reappearing. It is perhaps especially characteristic of, but by no means confined to, certain parts of the classic ages, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, beginning with the era of discoveries, and culminating in the great eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century collections. The eighteenth century had all the resources of the preceding centuries to draw on. That it made full use of both classical authority and the authority of the travelers from the earliest of them to the latest, there is abundant proof and acknowledgment in the

treatises of the primitivists. The statements of classical writers are constantly substantiated by those of the travelers, and vice versa. Some of the primitivists lean more to the one source than the other, but in general the use of both is almost equally common.

Toland draws chiefly on the classics. In his account of the Druids he mentions as authorities, "Cesar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Ammianus Marcellinus," who had written on the subject "more especially than others"¹ but his "others" would make up a long and interesting list; and later in the same work he writes, "'Tis certain that the more antient Greek writers, such as Hecateus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius (not to speak of Dicearchus and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the Brittish Ilands."² But even Toland illustrates statements of Artemidorus, as quoted by Strabo, by passages from Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*,³ and what is more interesting yet he attempts to identify the Hyperboreans, the half-mythical tribe of the north so much idealized by the Greeks, with the inhabitants of the Hebrides, pointing out similar noble traits in some of the contemporary inhabitants of the more remote islands.⁴

Blackwell's sources like those of Toland are almost entirely classical but his remark about the language of the Turks, Arabs, and Indians⁵ suggests some interest in more recent investigations of travelers. Robert Wood, again, might be expected to derive most of his material from the classics, and he does lean heavily on that source, but we have already seen that he also drew on his own travel experiences in Arabia, and he uses, moreover, for illustrative purposes the Hottentots, the Cherokees, and the Mexicans.⁶

Other writers divide their allegiance more equally between the two sources. Monboddo, for instance, commenting on his methods, remarks:

As the first Stage of the Progression of Man is not the subject of what is commonly called *History*, I have been at great pains to collect Facts concerning the state from Travellers both dead and living, and to compare them with the Facts related by ancient Authors; and I find such a wonderful conformity

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 8.

² *Op. cit.*, I, 138.

³ *Enquiry* (1735), p. 43.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 135.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 154 ff.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 97, and p. 153.

betwixt them, as I have observed in many instances, that I have as little doubt of that part of the History of Man, as of any period of his civil History.¹

Constantly he compares recently discovered nations with ancient tribes and mentions in the same list such people as the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands and Antony Van Diemen's Land, and the inhabitants of Latium and ancient Ethiopia.² Examples of his method are too numerous to list. Similarly Dunbar prefaces a remark by the words, "In some rude countries, according to the information of modern travellers, rendered credible by several passages of antiquity."³ Pinkerton refers impartially to Herodotus, Diodorus, Aelianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Tacitus, Saxo Grammaticus, Josephus Magnus, Torfaeus, Dr. Percy, Huet, Leo Africanus, Sir John Chardin, Lhencarvan, Macpherson, and Martin.⁴ In like fashion Brown draws on numerous sources, quoting at length from Lafitau's *Mœurs des Sauvages*. Finally the catalogue of the library of Adam Smith contains the titles not only of all the standard classical works, but of over thirty travel books and collections of voyages.

An investigation of Smith's catalogue and of the works referred to by the primitivists, chiefly in footnote references, has resulted in a list of no less than eighty-five travel books. This list includes such large collections as Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, eighteenth-century English collections by Churchill, Callander, Harris, Osborne, and Tott, and the French collections of Bergeron, Bernard, De le Brosse, Renneville, and Thevenot.

There seems to have been a great increase both in the amount of traveling done and in the number of travel books published in the eighteenth century. It was the time of voyages around the world. The collections of Harris, Pinkerton, and Kerr are augmented by the accounts of circumnavigations by Cowley, Dampier, John Cooke, Woodes Rogers, John Clipperton, George Shelvocke, Roggewein, Francis Pelsart, Abel Tasman, Anson, Byron, and James Cook. As Ferguson remarks, "Late discoveries have brought us to the knowledge of almost every situation in which mankind are placed,"⁵ and Martin complains in the Preface to his *Description of the Western*

¹ *Ant. Met.*, III, ii-iii.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 5 ff.

⁴ *Oral Trad.*, pp. xi-xvii.

⁵ *Civil Society*, p. 31.

Islands of Scotland that "the modern itch after the knowledge of foreign places is so prevalent, that the generality of mankind bestow little thought or time upon the place of their nativity."¹

The travelers in the latter seventeenth and in the eighteenth century were generously prolific on their return and collectors and publishers were diligent. It was the time par excellence of great collections. In the early nineteenth century came the enormous collection by Pinkerton, and surely it is not mere coincidence that one of the primitivists was himself a collector of voyages, any more than it was a coincidence that Wood was both critic and traveler.

Besides the travel books themselves the primitivists consulted such works as Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, especially the section on "Variétés dans l'Espèce Humaine," which was in itself a kind of collection of voyages and curious bits of information about the human species. They referred also to Bruzen de la Martinière's *Le Grand Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, et Critique*, and to *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*. They consulted such standard treatises as Camden's *Britannia*, Giraldus Cambrensis' *Topographia*, Olaus Wormius' *Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, Bartholinus' *De Contemptu Mortis*, Hickes's *Thesaurus*, and Torfaeus' *Orcades*.

Although in the classics, as in the travel books, primitive man is pictured at times as savage and brutal, a strain of idealization of primitive peoples was current in classical literature from the very beginning. It had from the earliest stages two distinct, though more or less related, aspects: (1) the idealization of the first races of men in the accounts of the four ages of the world and the doctrine of progressive degeneration from the Golden to the Iron Age, and (2) the idealization of contemporary peoples who inhabited the countries most remote from civilization. With Hesiod the Golden Age idea is first given literary expression, and in Homer traces of the idealization of remote peoples are found.

Especially are the two phases of this idealization related in the later stages of the Golden Age tradition when it took on a more

¹ Pinkerton, *A General Collection of . . . Voyages* (London, 1808-14), III, 572.

ethical coloring under the influence of the Stoics. The idea, expressed in the doctrine of the four ages, that the progressive degeneration of mankind was the outcome of the advance in the arts of civilization, carried with it as an inevitable corollary the glorification of those men who lived either in the ages preceding civilization, or, at the present time, in those countries so far removed from civilization as to be uncontaminated by it. It is this later phase of the theory, and especially its corollary, that is most important in connection with the doctrines of the primitivists, although there is some evidence that even the manifest fictions concerning the Golden Age were taken by them as historical facts.¹

The whole subject of the Golden Age tradition, however, its modifications by the Stoics, and the idealization of such remote peoples as the ancient Ethiopians, the Seres, the Scythians, the Hyperboreans, and later the Germans, has been so frequently discussed² that I shall pass directly on to the less explored field of travel literature.

The two phases of idealization present in classical literature continued in later ages. In one sense they grew farther and farther apart; but in another, they became curiously interlinked. The poetical conception of the Golden Age lived on, variously modified, in some of the more imaginative literature—chiefly in pastoral and mythological poetry, drama, and fiction³—traveling ever away from the groundwork of theory and yet having always as its moving force this tendency toward idealization. At the same time the old ideas of the state of society in the Golden Age were being brought into play in

¹ Locke, *Treatise of Government*, II, 111; and Monboddo, *Ant. Met.*, III, 202.

² For the Golden Age tradition, see E. Graf, "Ad Aureae Aetatis Fabulam Symbola," *Leips. Stud. a. Class. Philol.*, VIII, 1-85; E. Rohde, *Psyche* (Leipzig, 1903), I, 106 ff.; Eichhoff, "Über die Sagen und Vorstellungen von einem glückseligen Zustande der Menschheit," *Neue Jahrbuch. f. Philol.*, CXX, 581 ff.; L. Campbell, *Introduction to Plato's "Politicus"* (Oxford, 1867), pp. xxviii-xli; K. F. Smith, "Ages of the World (Greek and Roman)," *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 192 ff.; A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 286-88, 453, etc. For the idealization of the often half-fabulous tribes living at the four extremities of the known world, see A. Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Prog. Frank. am M., 1875; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1914), pp. 210 ff.; Dieterich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 35 ff.; O. Crusius in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lex. der Griech. und Röm. Myth.*, I, 2806-41; and M. Schanz, *Geschichte der Röm. Lit.* (München, 1913), II, 307.

³ There is a partial treatment of this phase in H. A. Burd, "Golden Age Idea in Eighteenth Century Poetry," *Sewanee Review*, April, 1915.

connection with the newly discovered savage tribes. Friendly and peaceable natives were promptly explained in the light of the Golden Age tradition and given all the attributes of the first dwellers on the earth—this not only by the first travelers but even by eighteenth-century writers. They were described as faithful, loving, and just, hospitable to strangers, generous minded. They were free from greed and envy and all civil dissension, because property was shared in common and there was yet no distinction between mine and thine. They were still untainted by civilization.

As I have said, this point of view is to be found in the travel books both early and late. In Richard Eden's translation of the *Decades of Peter Martyr* occur such passages as these in regard to the natives of various countries:

For it is certayne, that amonge them, the lande is as common as the sonne and water: And that Myne and Thyne (the seedes of all myscheefe) haue no place with them. . . . Soo that (as wee haue sayde before) they seeme to lyue in the goulden worlde, without toyle, lyuinge in open gardens, not intrenched with dykes, dyvyded with hedges, or defended with waules. They deale trewely one with another, without lawes, without bookes, and without Iudges.¹

So that if we shall not be ashamed to confesse the truthe, they seeme to lyue in that goulden worlde of the which owlde wryters speake so much: wherin men lyued simplye and innocentlye without inforcement of lawes, without quarrellinge Iudges and libelles, contente onely to satisfie nature, without further vexation for knowlege of thinges to come.²

They lyue without any certaine dwellynge places, and without tyllage or culturyng of the grounde, as wee reade of them which in oulde tyme lyued in the golden age.³

This idea was repeated and elaborated by Montaigne in his essays, especially in the thirtieth chapter of the first book and the sixth chapter of the third.⁴

Amadas and Barlow brought back a glowing account of the Virginians: "We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of

¹ Reprinted by Arber in *The First Three English Books on America* (Edinburgh, 1885), Decade I, Book iii, p. 78.

² I, ii, 70-71.

³ III, viii, 173.

⁴ For a discussion of sixteenth-century French travel books and treatises on the savage, see Gilbert Chinard, *L'exotisme Américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle d'après Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, etc.* (Paris, 1911).

the Golden Age."¹ Purchas speaks of the ideal social relationships of primitive man and regrets that he could not always have remained in his first integrity for in that case "Meum and Tuum had never proved such quarrelling Pronounes, to make warre more than Grammatical."² Lahontan has considerable to say about this same sharing of property and natural feeling of equality among "these truly Natural Philosophers." "The Savages," he writes, "are utter Strangers to distinctions of Property, for what belongs to one is equally another's."³ The following passage from Lahontan reads almost like Rousseau:

Besides, they value themselves above anything that you can imagine, and this is the reason they always give for 't, *That one's as much Master as another, and since Men are all made of the same Clay there should be no Distinction or Superiority among them.* They pretend that their contented way of living far surpasses our Riches; That all our Sciences are not so valuable as the Art of leading a peaceful calm Life.⁴

Lescarbot, writing in 1609, speaks of the Indian as illustrating the Aristotelian mean in the virtues of fortitude and courage, temperance, liberality, and justice. His remarks about their justice are interesting in the light of classical tradition: "As to justice, they have no law, either divine or human, but that which nature teaches them, that one must not offend another. . . . Herein they enjoy the felicity of the first age, when the fair Astraea lived among man."⁵ Finally, to give a later example I quote a passage from Martin's *Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698):

The inhabitants of St. Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty: what the condition of the people in the golden age is feigned by the poets to be, that theirs really is, I mean, in innocence and simplicity, purity, mutual love and cordial friendship, free from solicitous cares and anxious covetousness; from envy, deceit, and dissimulation; from ambition and pride, and the consequences that attend them. . . . There is this only wanting to make them the happiest people of this habitable globe,

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), VIII, 305.

² *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905-7), I, 44.

³ *New Voyages to North America*. Reprinted from the English edition of 1703 (Chicago, 1905), II, 420.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 421.

⁵ *History of New France*, "Publications of the Champlain Society," XI, 215.

viz., that they themselves do not know how happy they are, and how much they are above the avarice and slavery of the rest of mankind.¹

Is it any wonder that Monboddo should have written:

The poetical fictions concerning the golden age have, like most of the Greek fables, a foundation in historical truth; particularly in that circumstance, of men living upon the fruits of the earth, without blood or slaughter. . . . This golden age may be said yet to exist in some of the countries that have been discovered in the South Sea, where the inhabitants live, without toil or labour, upon the bounty of nature, in those fine climates.²

The praise of the savage, as I have said, permeates pretty much all travel literature in varying degrees of enthusiasm.³ There are, to be sure, many descriptions of the opposite nature which picture the savage as a brute beast, cruel, treacherous, and blood-thirsty, but such pictures curiously failed to leave much impression except possibly on Hobbes and his few followers. Most of the eighteenth-century writers quite evidently preferred to believe the eulogies. Chinard holds Las Casas, author of *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, 1552, responsible to a large degree for starting the cult of the "noble savage"⁴ and other writers have emphasized the influence of the Jesuits.⁵ While it is true that Las Casas undoubtedly did have a great influence, especially in France, and that the Jesuits, also, consistently praise the savages from first to last, the idealization is too universal a tendency—in existence long before Las Casas as we have seen—to require the explanation of any such definite influences. There would have been abundant eulogies of the native if Las Casas had never lived and the Jesuits had never labored with the savage soul. Indeed examples of this idealization are so profuse as to weary the collector of them.

What is the evidence of the voyagers in the matter of primitive poetry? Scattered throughout the books of travel there are refer-

¹ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, III, 724.

² *Origin and Progress of Language*, I, 225-26, note.

³ In addition to the examples already cited see further: *Letter from Carolina*, 1688, quoted by Toland, *Collection of Pieces*, II, 424-28; Roggewein's description of the inhabitants of Bowman's Islands, in Kerr, *op. cit.*, XI, 104; Candidius' account of the inhabitants of Formosa, in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1744-46), I, 405; and Lafitau's eulogy of the American Indian, in *Des Mœurs des Sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), I, 105-6.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.

⁵ Verner W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," *Sewanee Review*, XXVII, 48 ff.

ences to song and dance among the natives of many countries. Leo Africanus, for example, speaks of the poets of Fez,¹ and later of those of Numidia, where "the greater part of Arabians . . . are very wittie and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decipher his loue, his hunting, his combates, and other his woorthie actes: and this is done for the most part in ryme, after the Italians manner."² The *Jesuit Relations* are full of references to, and descriptions of, the songs and dances of the Indians.³ There are scattering references in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*.⁴ I have selected a few of the more important and interesting descriptions.

The primitivistic idea that the early bard was the historian of his tribe and that his songs were handed down by oral tradition receives plenty of support in the travel books. The Indian is described as having a kind of historical ballad which serves as a record of the heroic deeds of his ancestors. These ballads are called *Areytos* in several of the accounts. There is an interesting description of them in as early a book as Richard Eden's translation of the *Decades*:

And particularlye to reherse the noble factes of their graundefathers great graundefathers and auncestours aswell in peace as in warre. These two thynges they haue of owlde tyme composed in certeyne meters and ballettes in their language. These rhymes or ballettes, they call *Areytos*. And as owre mynstrelles are accustomed too synge to the harpe or lute, so doo they in lyke maner synge these songes and daunce to the same.⁵

Purchas gives a somewhat similar account drawn from Oviedo.⁶ Acosta records a more formal attempt among the Mexicans to preserve their records in poems and orations: "For the which cause they had Schooles, and as it were Colledges or Seminaries, where the Auncients taught children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by traditions from one to another as perfectly as if they had been written."⁷ This account is

¹ *History and Description of Africa. Done into English in the year 1600 by John Pory* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), II, 455.

² *Op. cit.*, III, 156.

³ For a long list of references, see the section on Oratory, Poetry, and Music, in the Index, LXXII, 355-57, of *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France* (Cleveland, 1896-1901).

⁴ Besides the passages quoted below see XVI, 553; XVII, 32, 334; XVIII, 325, 447. (Hakluyt Soc. ed.)

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, XV, 218.

⁷ *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Reprinted from the English Translated Edition of Edward Grimston, 1604 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), II, 404.

repeated in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*.¹ The poetry of the "Yncas Amautas" is described by Garcilasso de la Vega as preserving the deeds of their kings and other famous Yncas and as being "handed down by tradition, that the good deeds of their ancestors might be had in memory and imitated."²

There are many interesting descriptions of the songs and dances at the festival. Lahoutan writes:

Each Man sings his Exploits, and those of his Ancestors. . . . The Dance of War is done in a Circle, during which the Savages are seated on the Ground. He that dances moves from the Right Hand to the Left, singing in the mean time the Exploits of himself and his Ancestors. . . . Every one rises in his turn to sing his Song: And this is commonly practis'd when they go to war, or are come from it.³

The following quotation is taken from Purchas' extract from John Leries (Jean Lery):

Their tunable singing was so sweet, that to the skilfull it is scarce credible, how excellently well that harmonie agreed. . . . Then because I did not plainly understand their Language, and conceived not many things which had been spoken by them. I entreated the Interpreter that hee would declare them unto me. He signifieth, that these men, first lamented their dead Ancestors, who were most valiant, but in the end were hereby comforted, in that they hoped that after death they should at length go unto them beyond the Mountains, and dance with them, and celebrate merrie meetings: and that afterward they most grievously threatened the Ouetacates. . . . Moreover, I know not what they intermingled with their Songs concerning a flood, that the waters in times past so overflowed, that they covered the whole earth.⁴

Lafitau has an elaborate description of the song feast, which Brown quotes in his *Dissertation of Poetry and Music*. I quote from Brown's translation: "These Songs, for the most Part, are filled with the Fables of ancient Times, the Heroic Deeds of their Nation; and are composed in an antiquated Style; so old, that often they understand not what they say."⁵ Martin mentions the genius for poetry among the inhabitants of the Western Islands of Scotland and especially among the natives of St. Kilda.⁶

¹ London, 1614, p. 811.

² *Royal Commentaries on the Yncas* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), I, 194.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 422, 424. Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, XI, 182.

⁴ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XVI, 556-57.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 22; Lafitau, *Mœurs*, I, 519. ⁶ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, III, 579 and 665.

The type of material on primitive poetry offered by such writers as Bartholinus, Wormius, Hickes, and so forth, is too well known and has been too frequently treated to need illustration and discussion here.¹

Looking back over this material, it is not difficult to see how eighteenth-century critics evolved their rather astonishing theories. Starting with a strong interest in the treatment of every art and social institution from the point of view of its historical development; building up on the basis of their own natural inclination toward enthusiasm for primitive man and the abundant enthusiasm of the travelers and the ancients a conception of the savage, noble and generous, true to his companions, but above all true to himself and his own emotions; reasoning from this conception to a conception of the type of poetry one ought to expect in the primitive tribe; measuring this up by the remarks of the ancients and the travelers concerning poetry, and by the analysis of the style of Homer and Ossian and such other bits of primitive verse as they could get hold of—doing all this as wholeheartedly as they did it, the primitivists reached conclusions that were almost inevitable.

GOUCHER COLLEGE

LOIS WHITNEY

¹ F. E. Farley, "Scandinavian Influences on the English Romantic Movement," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology*, No. 9 (Cambridge, 1903), and "Three 'Lapland Songs,'" *PMLA* XXI (1906), 1 ff. G. Herzfeld, "Bemerkungen über die nordischen Stoffe in der englischen Poesie des vorigen Jahrhunderts," appendix to *William Taylor of Norwich, Eine Studie* (Halle, 1897); and C. H. Nordby, *The Influence of old Norse Literature upon English Literature* (Columbia, 1901).

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

The only copy of this poem known to the present writer is in the manuscript Fairfax 16 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. That codex is a commonplace-book or miscellaneous collection made to suit the owner's taste, written almost entirely in one neat, firm, professional hand of perhaps the first half of the fifteenth century; it is described, and its contents listed, in my bibliographical manual of Chaucer, pages 333-35. With the publication of this text and of the *Chance of the Dice*, soon to appear, the entire verse contents of the volume will have been made accessible in print or recognized in collation.

Considering the very close bond of part of the Fairfax to the smaller manuscript Bodley 638, and the nature of most of the poems transcribed in it, the position of this poem is suggestive. In a mere catalogue of items, it would appear between Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* and the *Lover's Mass*; but after the former poem, which breaks off unfinished with leaf 300, the remainder of the fascicule, five leaves, is left blank, evidently in the expectation of more text. This poem begins, with a fascicule, on 306 recto, and fills all of that gathering except the last leaf, 313, which is blank. The charming and varied poem which I have called the *Lover's Mass*¹ then follows, and is in its turn followed by a series of ballads, "letters," and complaints printed by MacCracken.² Our text has therefore a sort of independence of the poems between which it is bound; and instead of deriving from such a composite and standard codex as that which gave some fourteen or fifteen Chaucerian and Chaucer-influenced texts to Fairfax and Bodley, it may have come to the scribe as a single stray. Its quality, also, is quite different from that, for instance, of the Lydgate poems so numerous in the volume.

This quality is mixed. There is plenty of the furnishings of formal poetry here. The temporal-astronomical opening, the garden setting,

¹ Printed in *Journal of Germanic Philology*, VII, 95-104.

² *Publications Modern Language Association*, XXVI, 142 ff.

the lists of trees, herbs, and birds, the "fresshe condyt," are all familiar to readers of late medieval texts; and when the lady makes her appearance, almost halfway through the poem, the author sets himself to a feature-by-feature catalogue of her beauties, continued to the close, which is also characteristic of formal medieval verse.

Yet in spite of these time-worn trappings, in spite of the stereotyped protestations of inadequacy, there is a clumsy vigor and freshness about the poem. The flowers that laugh pleasantly on the beholder, the trees full of shadow, the wan purple-eyed violet, the lovers ever dying of love and yet never dead, the fairness like a lily in the dry calm summer or like snow under a February moon, the throat to which Solomon's temple-pillars are but filth, the sighs of the young men seeing the lady dance girt in her surcoat, are direct and lively perceptions. Even well-worn devices like the summons to earlier rhetoricians for aid, or the author's laments over his inability to praise fittingly, take an interesting turn, because a personality makes itself felt. Deficient as he is in expressive power, he has more self-consciousness and independence than Lydgate, keener sense-perceptions than Hoccleve or Bokenam. His transitions are clumsy enough, but he is clear what he intends to do, and he has material to fill his lines. He is a not uninteresting example, in that transitional period, of earlier formulas mixed with newer perception, of the awakening of the eye and the deafness of the ear. Satire and joviality peep through his conventions; his straightforward, though occasionally pseudo-scientific, vocabulary is free of abstract terms and full of attempt to use the senses; his rhythm is as unaffected as it is awkward. In spite of the standardized material used, the poem gives more impression of sincerity than we derive from many works of definitely bourgeois subject and "popular" treatment.

The writer's medical prepossessions may be argued from various passages in the poem. Most obvious are the lists of medicinal herbs and gums, often accompanied by a phrase or line on their application. Nearly all of these can be identified in such medico-botanical lists as are collected in Henslow's *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century*; exceptions are *cristianete*, line 48, which may be the vetch *Astragalus Dioscoridis*, called "Christiana radix" by the Germans, says Parkinson in his *Theatrum Botanicum* (pp. 1086-87); also *cilion*,

line 46, which may be written for silfion or silfium, a plant of North Africa yielding a gum-resin valued in the Middle Ages for its medicinal qualities. This knowledge of herbs does not warrant us in attributing medical prepossessions to the author; the second book of the *Court of Sapience*, for example, has a similar inventory of medicinal plants, with their uses, among its many lists. But such a passage as lines 308-9, describing the lady's eyes, implies professional knowledge. If "fyst tunice" in line 308 be miswritten for *fyrst tunic*, the reference may be to the first tunic or membrane of the eye, of which seven "tunics" are listed, for instance, by Vicary. On this, says our author, is the crystal eyeball, with its comely pearl of jet:—the iris? Again, observe line 346, a conceit as extraordinary as any of Chamberlayne's in his *Pharonnida*, of the Caroline age, and paralleled in only a minor way by the "pregnant lippes" of the *Court of Love*, line 794, or the *tumentia labra* of Maximian. Observe also the mention of the epiglottis in line 348, and the placing of four physicians in charge of the garden. It is the concurrence of such details which tempts to the suggestion that the author may have been professionally interested in medicine; were this the case, his work would have sharpened rather than dulled his sense-observations.

There are many points in the text which require annotation; I trust that other students may be able to explain the *Cirtys* of line 197, the *Estrild* of line 262, the *Melkely* of line 226. This last word was printed *Melbeely* in the few lines of our poem published in *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, I, 49, but I have read it *Melkely*. Standing as the word does between Architrenius and Alanus, it seems to indicate a well-known writer or work, rhetorical or poetic. It is scarcely possible that any scribe could distort *Mercury* into this form, but Martianus Capella would fit well in the list. The name *Estrild* also suggests a miswriting; we remember that "Ester" follows next after Absalom in the ballad of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, but this word is not thereby explained.

Both miswritings and traces of Chaucerian influence are frequent enough in the text to warrant an editor in seeking his emendations along either road. The allusion to Chaucer in lines 219-21 was briefly noted by Schick in the introduction to his edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, page cxlii (a bit of text, p. 78), with a jest at our versi-

fier's expense. And there is more of Chaucer here than the mention of his name. Compare for instance lines 23, 60, 405; and the list could be lengthened. But the miswritings are much more numerous. Passing over obvious scribal tricks such as *whitte* for *wit* in 257, *tal* for *to al* in 371, *therys* and *therbys* in 55, 63, we find *vitatall* for *vitall* in 6, *taurys* for *tourys* in 17, *They* for *The* in 35, *valeyde* for *valeyde* in 51, *mote* for *more*(?) in 52, *calamy* for *calmy* in 67, *sawltre* for *sweltre* in 72, *And* for *As* in 89, *gray* for *gay* in 108, *enx* for *eny* in 159, *prive* for *prive* in 173, *Hert* for *Her* in 207, *rapours* for *vapours* in 259, *So* for *Sho* (she) in 354, *loud* for *long* in 406, and *mynre* for *myne* in 441. In line 299 *Her* probably represents *Here*. The manuscript also reduplicates *with*, *to*, in lines 88, 141, omits *harpe* from 97, inverts the word-order in 122, and omits *I* from 238—an unusually long list of turpitudes for the Fairfax scribe.

Other puzzles in the text may be due to scribal distortion, e.g., the "gauer" of line 336 and the lack of a principal verb in that couplet; or the structure of lines 200, 304-5. Discussion of points other than textual, of the bringing of the "reliques" into France (see line 70) or of the connection of lines 156-71 with the motif of the Twelve Abuses, cannot be entered upon here. But the announced purpose of the poem, a laudatory description of the beloved lady, requires some comment. The poem does not, in the body of the manuscript, bear the title here prefixed to it; it is in the table of contents of the Fairfax MS, a table perhaps contemporary, that this article is termed "How A Louer Prayseth Hys Lady." To this praise the last two-thirds of the poem are given; and the method is that of feature-by-feature description.

Such a mode of commendation was one of several possible to the medieval rhetorician. It was highly particularized, as compared with the general profession of inadequacy in the describer or with the generalized assertion of the *ne plus ultra* of the described. This second mode is common in the *Flower and the Leaf*, for example; the poet saw "neuer thing . . . so wel done" as the garden hedge, no field so rich in all the world, never yet in all his life a fairer medlar tree, was sure that so pleasant a place as the garden had never been known to any man since the world began, and that sweeter music had never been heard, etc. It is the foreshortened commendation

of the romances; compare *Floris and Blancheflour*, 706, "the faireste that migthe in erthe be," or *King Horn*, 10, "Fairer ne migte non beo born"—and so on. Akin are Chaucer's formulas, "In her was euery vertu at his reste," *Pofoules*, 376, or "that kynde it not amenden mighte," *Troilus*, V, 829, or "In hir ne mighte no thing been amended," *Anelida*, 84. And here also belongs the insistence on the golden mean; the lady's nose is neither too prominent nor too small, she says neither too much nor too little, etc.

Outside these two briefer modes of commendation, suited to an advancing narrative or to verse of the cavalcade-tapestry type, are the larger-scale static modes, the lists; these compare the belauded person to other persons and things, or they praise by enumeration of the separate features. The knight is paralleled to the Nine Worthies or to emperors and sages, the lady to heroines of biblical and classical antiquity. Or it may be precious stones, flowers, stars, which are brought into the comparison. This is done woodenly enough by Lydgate, for instance; but Chaucer knew how to vivify the conventional method by using it negatively. He bids Absalom "hide his gilte tresses clere," Esther "lay her meekness all adown," as Alceste approaches; or in describing the Merchant's wedding feast he cries "Hold thou thy peace, thou poet Martian"—even as Dante had bidden Lucan be silent and pride himself no more on his description.

Still more materialistic is the feature-by-feature description. Lengthy examples of it may be found in Alanus' *Anticlaudianus*, I, 7, or in his *De Planctu Naturae*, prose 1; in Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars Versificatoria*; in Aeneas Sylvius' *De duobus Amantibus*. The mode goes back to Claudian and Maximian, but is much expanded by the medieval rhetoricians; it comes down into Italian and French, e.g., *Il Mare Amoro* or the "soixante et douze beautés qui sont en dames." The *Court of Love*, 778 ff., has the same motif; Hawes uses it in the *Pastime*, chapter 30; and it survives in Browne and in Thomson *On Beauty*. The modern, or rather the Victorian poet, praised his lady either in conjunction with the aspect of nature to which he compared her, or by the effect produced on himself.

This latter is by no means solely a modern thing. Alongside the generalized formulas of the *Flower and the Leaf* we have such touches

as the odor of the hawthorn, sweet enough to comfort any heart, whatever its despair, and a half-dozen bits of lesser value. Chaucer had said that Cressid's beauty "gladed al the press," following Boccaccio's "facea lieta la gran festa"; King James described "Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote"; one of Skelton's most fortunate couplets is "Her eyen gray and steape Maketh myn hert to leape." Naturally this mode of description grew in favor as the individualizing tendency grew. Petrarch's watching of his own feelings must have been of power on the later poets who looked to him; and when to the individualistic development the "Romantic" feeling for nature was added, all description was extended. In Rossetti's "eyes . . . deeper than the depths Of waters stilled at even," the expanse of silent water appeals to the poet equally with the human eyes.

Such an enrichment of the passive side of the parallel is uncommon in medieval poetry. Chaucer in the ballad of the Legend attains something of it by sharpening his glance at Absalom and at Esther; and another way in which he increased the power of his formal descriptions was by combining methods, as in *Anelida*, 80-84, or in *Troilus*, I, 172-75. Of his own special mode of description nothing need be said here. It is far removed from the conventionality of this poor production, the interest of which lies in the clumsy attempt of a partly aroused individuality to work with stiffened material.

HOW A LOUER PRAYSETH HYS LADY

[MS Bodl. Fairfax 16, fol. 306 a]

When the son the laumpe of heuen ful lyght	
Phebus with hys eye ful gret round and bryght	
In the lyon rent yn hys domynacion	
Boyling the herbes the rede. swart. white to brown	
With hys coleryk hete and hys nature	5
Rypeth then euery vitatall creature	
And diane echates bothe I here call	
The cold mone the sonnes doghter royall	
Verrey lady and goddes of the see	
Of moystur and spiritz that yn the eyr be	10
With her yong hornys shynyng on her fronte	
Al with her tynnyd hiwe on our oryzonte	

xxti degres was yn libra ful shene	
Amphitricos the flode and sees quene	
In thys tyme ful calme and rosy to se	15
To a gardyn I went blythe for to be	
Wallyd with taurys ful gret and hye	
Of cristal ful pleasaunt vn to myn eye	
Ther was herbes ther wantyd no floures	
Of al helthe and of al swete odoures	20
They lawghden on men ful pleasauntly	
And pirwynked on youthe ful nysely	
So proude and gay the erthe ys then by gon	
ffor al rychesse on hys bak beryth he on	
In this gardyn of al maner of kynde	25
Cedres were of lyban and of Inde	
With virres clymyng vp yn to hevene	
fful of shadowe a thousand on a stepinne	
Datrees gernadez euer blowyng orengys	
Brasyl almaunders euen sette yn rengys	30
The hard costard the duryng wardon per	
And damasyns yn a quarter set I fer	
Another quarter was cast by geometrye	
By euclide ys squire lynd and eye	
They Aleys rengyd by proporcion	35
With bawme ryal vynez trayled vp and down	
And herbez ful of euery regyon	
Sent fro the Caan and preter John	
The furst lunary was to make elyxir	
The gold shuld cause make to their plesyr	40
Cokkyll romeyn and sote basylyeon	
Basyl our lady seel and herbe John	
The hote sauge a yenst the cold palesye	
The colde Betyne for the frenesye	
Maioiran. mynte and rosemaryn	45
Purselan Cilion and grene syngryn	
Nard flour gentyl agnus castus the grete	
Safron with canel therbe cristianete	
The flam bloddy the rede roselet	
The wan purpelyde the soot vyolet	50
The valeyd lyly clad al yn snowe	
A thousand mote ther was I sowe	
In the gardyn and fruytes many wer	
Sum gladed the syght with staryng cher	
Sum therys by oft relacion	55
Sum the mouthe by gret delectacion	

And ful many the hert yn especial
 Al was lust plesaunce and cordyal
 Ther was no tre mayde ne steryle
 Nature so them dyd ay forge and fyle 60
 ffro yere to yere so parfyt and fecunde
 That hyt semed an heuen the secunde
 Therbys the gras and euery blowyng tre
 Representeth ay on of thes thre
 To the seke man verrey medycyne 65
 To the hungry bothe to soupe and dyne
 And yn the hote calamy somer seson
 In their shadowe to rayl fresshly vp and down
 With ladyes ful of youthe and plesaunce
 And them tel how the reliquez com yn to fraunce 70
 Or els wyth syghes cold and gret dolours
 How they sawltre for louyng paramours
 And euer they dey and yet neuer dede
 And al causeth beaute and wommanhede
 And herbe ys noon of suche nature 75
 That may ther woful woundys cure
 But throghe hope and grace ther spryngeth a well
 To paradys ledyth them out of hell
 And euyne besyde gummez wonder fyn
 Of aloes myrre and terrebentyn 80
 Olibaun encense and perosyn
 Mastyk sarcacol and duryng rosyn
 To purge lepre and malyncolye
 I sawe with whey dronk epythymye
 And to purge coler I brent rede and hard 85
 Pelettys of Rubarbe and spikenard
 And salt fleume that sleyth our kyndly hete
 Turbyt with with canel fast dyd they ete
 And charged was by the maister gardyner
 Old ypoeras I knewe hym by hys cher 90
 ffior of herbys was hys disputyson
 Of the cours of heuyn or complexion
 A nother gardyner sawe I the galyen
 The iijde appollo the forthe abyacen
 They commaunded ay that melodye 95
 Suld ther be both ryght loud and hye
 The daunser pipe the swownyng [sic]
 The waker trumpe the trumpet sharp
 But ough helas I had almost forgete
 The chirme of briddys feir and swete 100

Not of the cokkowe nother hykwale
 But of the chelaundre and nyghtyngale
 Of grene taryns bothe larke and fynche
 Thrussches throstels and twytlyng goldfynche
 But this was al man is ere to plesse 105
 But there was also ther eye for to plesse
 Many a grene spekyng popyn jay
 The prout pacok with his fetheris gray
 The whyte swan gowache and fesaunte
 Hennys of Inde come fro brugys and gaunte 110
 Yet I beseche yow hauethe in your mynde
 Of iulus / ther by commyng out of Inde
 ffuller of rubyes and perles grete
 Then the felde ys of cornys of whete
 Of topaz saphir and diamaunde 115
 Iacinthe charbocke and adamante
 And the ryuer ful of merchandyse.
 Of al the world fro Capses vn to ffrise
 In this gardeyn als a condyte ther was
 Not of cold lede neyther of brotel glas 120
 But of bournyd goold louely for the nonys
 With charbocke other and precious stonys
 Shynyng ful bryght by the sterred leme
 Lyke a torche and the fresshe sonnys beme
 The fresshe condyte rynnnyng with bawme ryal 125
 With Marwa and wyn of bewawne with al
 With mylke with oyl wyth watir of Rose
 With muske with amber ryal I suppose
 The wounded bodyes to hele and save
 Antyoche to drynk and holsom safe 130
 Ther was als a myrrour of wonder engyne
 Ipolysshed by Intellygence devyne
 Made by sterred astronomye
 By spirytes of the eyre and nygramanceye
 In whom ye myght truly byhold and loke 135
 In thexemployre of deyn boke
 How your frendys fare yn euery contre¹
 And how your selfe yn parfyte hele may be
 And also by vertue feythe hope and cheryte
 By our fredom and vertues doying 140
 With the prince of pees to to abyde euer duryng
 I myght speke of a parke of bestys with horn
 Thantelope reynder and vnicorn

¹ Lines 137-39: either this is a triplet, or a line is missing.

Iclosed with marble xxti myle a boutē
 A thousand panteris and bukkys yn a route 145
 With elkys hertys white and blake
 Tristeth wel of venyson was no lakke
 Neyther bredyng of faucons white
 A good goshauke ye myght haue for a myzte
 A Cyte was ther by which at my dome 150
 ffayrer rycher then euer was rome
 Thebes. Troy. or the grete Babyloyn
 Venys. london. Parys. or Coloyne
 Wher in was the grounde of poleeye
 Of knyghthode astate and deuote clergye 155
 Ther was withoute envye religion
 Hygh lordshypp with oute extorcion
 Men of law and marchaundyse
 With oute eny spot of covetyse
 Wedded men with out varyaunce 160
 Meke wyfes ful of obseruaunce
 Serauntz that haten Idulnes
 True gromys with out crabbednes
 And frerys with out flaterye
 Displayers with out vylonye 165
 Chapmen with out othys and gyle
 Myllers that tylyth not twyes yn a myle
 Wydwes that neuer lysteth a man to kys
 Of xl yer maydens that neuer tred her sho amys
 Prestys prechyng ful of holynes 170
 Cunnyng clerkys fleyng gret ryches
 ffare wel gardyn no mor wol I the discryve
 Nothing hyt lakked that yn erthe mygt prive
 Hyt semed no dunghil but a paradyse
 A plot of heuen made by angels devyse 175
 But what I sawe ther romyng to and fro
 Sum what wol I sey ere I fro you go
 I sey youthe that neuer hopyth to deye
 And rychesse that al the world doth gye
 Veynglory strengthe and prowesse 180
 Honour fame beaute and lyghtnesse
 Stondyng on a brygge ouer a ryuer
 ffastned with no thing but wyth a brer
 Sum byheld the gardyn iiijxxti yer and mo
 Sum an hour lyke the shadowe wer ago 185
 So me semed that suerte ne substaunce
 Myght not stond with sodeyn varyaunce

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

389

Wel ys hym that syker and yn Joy ay may dwele
 That ys not yn erthe see neyther helle
 That lesson foryate I and lokyd aboute 190
 And a wyght sawe I daunsyng yn the route
 A lady me semyd wyth a festly chere
 Nay an Angel and woman Ifere
 Her fresshe beaute was mor as I gesse
 Then euer was a pryncely cristemesse 195
 In the tyme of glorious Calamon
 Cirtys Artour or els kyng John
 Or the yong veryssh sonne in aryeeet
 Ten degrees on hye with his mekely heet
 Whiche Titan then loue vn to nature 200
 ffor gen many a lusty creature
 ffor he ys the second cause of generacion
 And that prouythe wel yn his Assencion
 Of al vital lyf and sensible
 Wytnes on ambros vppon the bible 205
 O lat be venus yn thy shynyng spere
 Her gret fayrenes shal thou neuer pere
 Neythir may for al thy techelyd hewys
 A court of beaute verely sho ys
 Ye certys ys fayrer than fayrye 210
 Or esperus the day ster bryght on the skye
 Ough helas my tonge thou ner a bell
 Of her beaute sumwhat to tell
 Or els that I coud with wordys of Rethoryke
 Sumwhat descryve wher to she ys lyke 215
 Cum on tulius with sum of thy flouris
 Englesshe geffrey with al thy colourys
 That wrote so wel to pope Innocent
 And mayster Chauser sours and fundement
 In englysshe tunge swetely to endyte 220
 Thy soule god haue with virgynes white
 Moral. gower. lydgate. Rethor. and poete
 Ouide. stase. lucan. of bataylls grete
 Wher art thou boece symachus and Guido
 Virgil. barnard. Austyn and varro 225
 Archytreny melkely and Aleyn
 They konwe me not my al ys yn veyne
 fare wel ye musez al of thryes thre
 And namly vrania and caliope
 I haue slept out of the hul of parnaso 230
 Elycona vn to Thymus the hul ys go

fro me dulle asse and wol not abyde
 Ouer the carybde comyn ys the tyde
 fforthe sayl I wol and gesse yn my wyse
 As bayard the blynd trottyng on the Ise 235
 When he is down ye iapen merely
 fforthe I wol lawghyt on for so wol y
 Ye laghe but selde [I] trowe at holynes
 But at me ye shal anon as I ges
 Ther shal neuer wyght gret thing atteyne 240
 That dret euery thing but ay lyf yn peyne
 Ner god fully serue I you ensure
 That wold plesen euery creature
 I haue ben out of my wey but nowe ageyn
 I wol of my lady sum what sayn 245
 ffurst of the beaute of hyr heuynyssh face
 Wher was al beaute wrought yn lytel space

descripcio capitis

Hyr hede was ner hand a cercle rounde
 Kyndly made reson in to habounde
 A quarter of the Dyametre by verrey lyne 250
 Shadyd hir here of ramyssh goold fyne
 The cellys of memor were yn euery thing
 fful clere with out fantesye and ymagynyng
 Ther was no mannye but true disposicion
 With out al furious mocion 255
 Al was by nature yn ordre y knytte
 Ther with al a parlement ful of whitte

descripcio crinium

On which growyd out gylt tressys grete
 Of erthly vapours drawen out by hete
 Vn to the erthe ful strejt raught a don 260
 ffayrer then euer had yong absolon
 Estrild. Eleyne. or fresshe Polixene
 More clere then bemes of phebus shene
 In the crabbe yn hys somer tropike
 Or sparclys of fyre medlyd with bryke 265
 A myne of goold throug out was I ronne
 Ibourned lyke to a fresshe fyry sonne
 And softer hyt was then opyn sylke or satyn
 Inogh to wrap al hir fair body yn
 Nowe of the baner of womanhede 270
 Whiche ys the geme of al goodlyhede
 The swete beaute of the visage whyte
 White as lyly when he ys yn hys delyte

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

391

Most in the dry calme somer seson

Was sho lyke the bournyd white whalys bon

275

Ye sumwhat the snowe wolde ther to apere

In a frosty mone yn the fleueryere

But not so paly whyte for yn hir lyflyhede

Hyt semed throgth the skyn fressh rosys rede

Istylled wer not fade yn her colour

280

He that made hyt was a parfyt elymnour

The snowe iij partyes the rose that other

Held with crymysyn veluet ys brother

The visage streght not to long nother lene

Not to round no to short but yn a mene

285

No thing passed out of hys mesure

Beaute hym self was euery feture

I wondre not thogh she wer wondre feyr

She was allone kynd made hir neuer peyr

I told you not of hir feyr yen clere

290

Lat be may morowe tyde be thou neuer so clere

So quyke heuenly so festly on to se

Smylyng glad with sad debonerte

Lyke a smaragde or a cler saphire

But with al ther commeth out a fyre

295

O swete byhold men to glad so amerey

And euyn with al men causeth for to dye

But not for euer lyke to a coketryce

Her a down and with yn a sygh a non aryse

Maugre hys reson ay hyt loue and drede

300

fful enchauntyd by hyr womanhede

A thousand hertys I dar wel vnder take

Sho shal haue whan hyr lyst a fest make

Ten Mⁱ conynges but only kunyng

She hath non hir self ys the same thing

305

ffor goold ys goold thogh he no gold haue

Sho ys glad fest vn to euery cunnyng maue

On the fyste tunice ys a cristal

Wyth a perle of gete comly wythal

The spiritz which are called vysyble

310

Lyke a fayry that ys vnyvysyble

I drede lest sho wol with hyr meke byhold

Mo men sle then hardy Ector many fold

Sho must shryve hir of manslaghter busyly

But ther is no syn but that is don wilfully

315

The browys smale cereled and bent lyke a bowe

With cowslyppys and goold of damaske Ithrowe

Yelwer then yelowe of erthly nature
 In paradys was made thys creature
 And halfe a pawme they dwel a sundre 320
 The beaute be twen ys lyke a wondir
 But of the forhede playn and wommanysshe
 To discryue my hert slepyth for faut of englysshe
 Whitter of hir self then ermyn or plesaunce
 Vmple lawn reyneze or relisaunce 325
 No thyng pynchyd lyke a nonnys wymple
 Ne forowyd drye lyke a nabbesse gymple
 The thryd partye euyñ by proporcion
 Toke of hyr face fully the porcion
 The skyn wondyr soft smal white and clere 330
 Of nature and not by craft maden clere
 Then prydyth the strejt nose lyke a rule
 Lynyal euen yn womanly rule
 Not apysshe short signe of hastynes
 Nor crane bekyd to shewe manysshene 335
 Thogh gauer Zeusys and pygmalyon
 Hyr to countrefete by proporcion
 No mor shuld be lyke then peynted fyre
 On a wal to stryve with boylyng Ire
 Out of the nostrelis bawme dothe encense 340
 Soter then yreos rosys or encense
 O lytel mouthe o leder of the daunse
 Louyers to wound with fyry pleasaunce
 A wyght to fyre with out eny fyre
 And sho not foulyd of eny foul desyre 345
 Whos lypys wyth chyld ben by maydenbede
 Swol and engreyned wyth rosys rede
 But ther wythyn vpon the pyglote
 Whiche of the tunge ys more and also rote
 Ther ys a sakke with flour of vyolet 350
 Of cynamoine Ielofres sanguinet
 Brethyth the peple wyth suche a flauour
 ffro al heynes a non with her odour
 Sho wol them cure and fro pestylence
 With her swete byhold and hyr wncense 355
 Then the palesyed tethe of Iuory
 Ben sette yn ordre on by and by
 fful lowe and bourned with whalys bon
 With out ake or putrefaccion
 fful euen and lytle of stature 360
 Al thogh sho wer of pygmeys nature

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

393

Ha beaute ha youthe ere cheyned I fere
 In hyr mekely nek bothe white and clere
 Lyke a piler polysshed marbelyn
 Snowysshe white vpryght streght as a lyne 365
 Of piramidal or mathymatyk
 Or sotely to thynke be methafisyk
 Wondre strejt wondre soft wondre smal
 Pes hyt was made lyke an heuen at al
 With your hand ye myght hyt clyp a boutte 370
 Hyt was a cours ye a fest tal a route
 The veinys wonder smal lyke a wyre
 Of fressher blue then swaged saphyre
 The goolden pylers of the temple of salamon
 Of Sychim set with perles and marble ston 375
 Was but fylthe vn to hyr throte so white
 Hyt was beaute wedded vn to delyte
 Throgh which passed many toghtys swete and shene
 Nowe good thryft haue ye myn own hert ys quene
 Omere a ryse and cal vn to a muse 380
 And helpe my flewmy wyt thys mater forthe to muse
 O mercury O poluma with your goolden Inke
 Wryteth on hyt passyth my wyt ther on to thynke
 Hyr appul brestys to fele was no thondre
 A lytil spanne was set a sundre 385
 So lyte so white so hard so rounde
 By nature was neuer such I founde
 No neuer shal I dar vnder take
 But god hym self wol the labour take
 ffor nature had kyd al her maystrye 390
 And almost toke a syngler vilanye
 To forge such on to passe kynde
 Nature was wery and wept out of mynde
 And borowyd of thalmyghty deyte
 To make on Infynyt of beaute 395
 The wert vppon the lytel papilet
 Streynyd of rubies flesshly fyry rede
 Made of cristal and perlys Ifere
 And maydens blode tendre white and clere
 To dart a young wyght soore to wounde 400
 Thogh he wer ryght prout hole and sounde
 Her armys small whitter than swannys kynde
 Not mannyshe rough hard as a rynde
 But small streyght flesshely rounde & soft
 Nature goode thryft bad her ful oft 405

The handys lytill the fynGRES loud and small
 God dyd them moolde parfytely with all
 The nailyS rede not peyntyd as in spayne
 Nature in her wrought no thing in vayne
 Her sydys long fleshely smothe and white 410
 In whom love enbrasyd his delyte
 In a circote when she daunsyd Icladde
 Meny a yonge man syghed ful madde
 Ther to in her waast so small fetyd was she
 That in xxti Inche alday gyrd wold she be 415
 But to the god in tryne vnyte
 I wondre how that feyrenesse and excellent beaute
 May brynge a yong man to sorowful passyon
 With drede with wacche ye and lesse al hys reson
 ffor me semyth that the contrarye 420
 Shuld cause a man to madde and falle in Mannye
 As thundres. Gunnys. and tempestys of the see
 With derkenesse in longe deepe prison for to be
 These been causys and grete occasyon
 To transforme a mannys ymaginacyon 425
 To lyve in drede and in bestialyte
 But no thing the shappe of excellent beaute
 Of a lady feyre yong and avenaunt
 Lett clerkys sey to me hyt ys not appertenaunt
 Save that same thing that woundeth soor 430
 Hyt wol save the same wyght ye for euermor
 Touching the paleys of venus the quene
 The goolden cloyster of maydenhode I mene
 Naturys celle storer of mankynde
 Left penne and tunge ye and all my mynde 435
 Ther on to muse I am in grete dowte
 But that adamauntys closyd hyt aboute
 Hyt was none ostry ner loggyng place
 But for wedlok the sacrament of grace
 ffelyng I trow coude gyf sentence 440
 Of suche a place I had neuer experience
 But to certyfye yow fully myne entent
 The xv beauteys I shall yow present
 That adorneth beaute and wommanhede
 As the sunne doth the heyr in hys bryghthede 445
 ffyftene beautys in her conteynyd ys
 She semeth an hevenly yong paradys

"HOW A LOVER PRAISETH HIS LADY"

395

thre white

She ys snowyssh whyte vniuersally
And namely the teeth and in the Ien specially

thre rede

And also rosy reede in membres thre 450
Her naylis her lyppis full flammy be
Her fresshe chekys rosy in mesure
Who ys that wold hate suche a creature

thre longe

The longe nekke .syddys wondir soft
flyingres long and leene / beaute kyssyth hem fyl oft 455

thre rounde

Rounde brestys / armys / rounde and small
Anothir thing whiche I speke not of at all

thre lytill

Lytyll erys / lytill mouthe / the fete praty with all
A lover on to thenke hyt is a cordyall
But shortly thys ys for a conclusyon 460
A part she had of all perfeccion

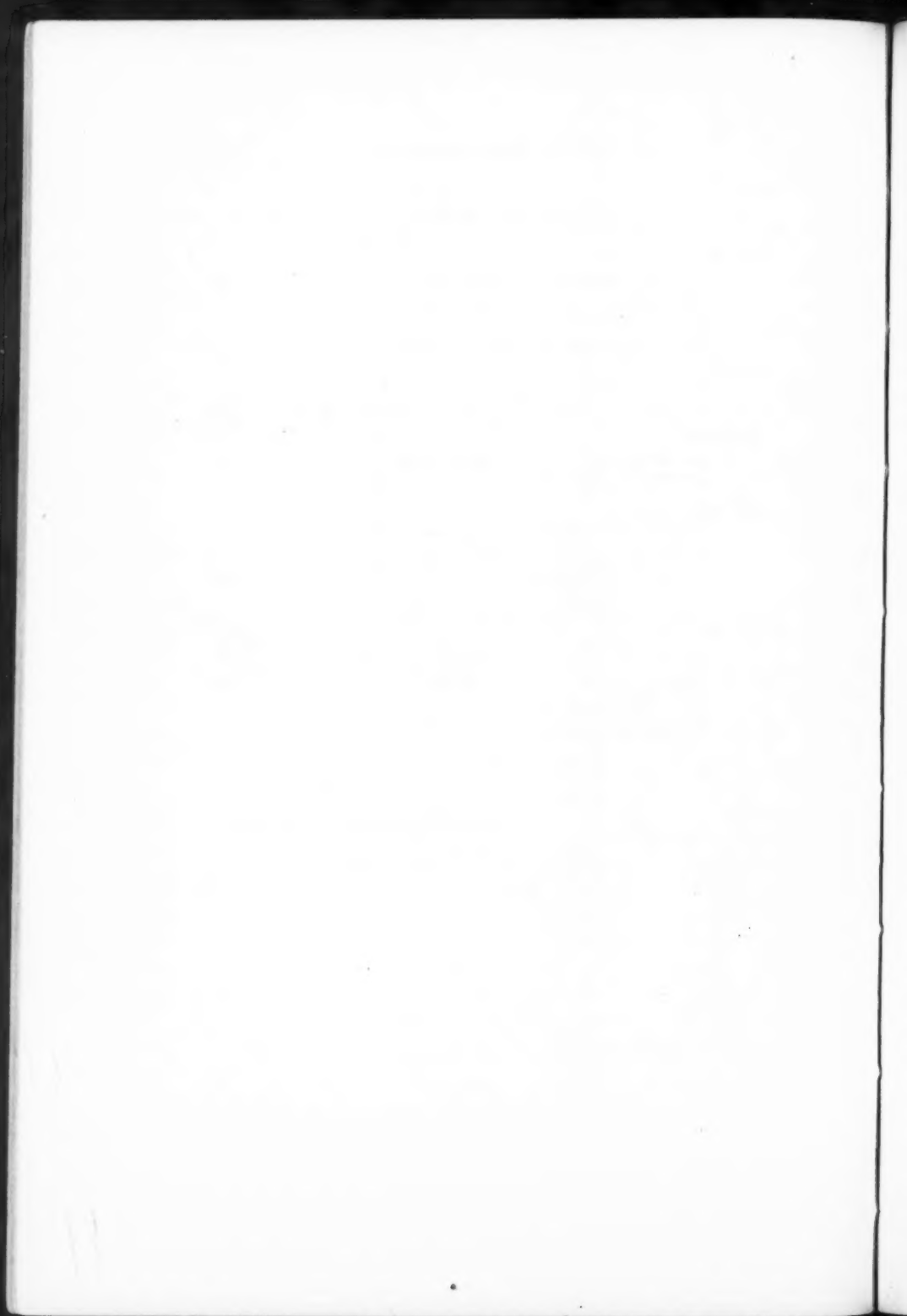
firo hye to lowe as in lengthe and brede
All was beaute and parfyte wommanheed
Of this lady haue I made a discripcion
Aftir my sympill wyt and entencion 465

Let other amende hyt that better kunne
ffor kunnyng in me was neuer kunne none

Explicit

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CERVANTES' ATTITUDE TOWARD HONOR

The code of honor prevailing in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been studied almost exclusively with reference to the dramatic authors of that period. Lope de Vega was the first literary critic to emphasize honor as an all-important dramatic motive. Almost every conceivable honor situation occurs in his voluminous drama. Calderón, while introducing few new honor situations, surpassed Lope as a theoretician of honor. His legalistic and scholastic mind delighted in imagining intricate honor situations and providing for them subtle solutions. We may search the duel books of the time in vain for a complete formulation of the honor code. Many of its provisions were too illegal and un-Christian to pass censorship in a book laying down rules of conduct. To reconstruct the code of honor we must turn to the writers of drama and fiction. And Calderón is the richest source. By assembling these scattered references we learn how the Spanish gentleman of the Age of Gold was expected to act when involved in an honor dilemma. We are confronted with an odd farrago of principles. Some arouse admiration for their chivalry; others indignation for their ruthless savagery.¹

But it is wrong to think that all Spaniards blindly accepted the prevailing code of honor. Aside from the clergy and moralists who denounce it, there are at least two protesting voices. One of these is the novelist Doña María Zayas y Sotomayor, who often protests against the injustice and cruelty of man toward her sex. The other is Cervantes, whose kindly nature led him to accept whatever was noble

¹ This article presupposes a knowledge of the honor code prevailing in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Rubió y Lluch, *El sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón*, Barcelona, 1882; Castro, "Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos xvi y xvii," *Revista de filología española*, III, 1 ff. and 357 ff.; Stuart, "Honor in the Spanish Drama," *Romanic Review*, I, 247 ff. and 357 ff.; De Molins, "El sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón," *Revista de España*, LXXX, 355 ff., 514 ff.; LXXXI, 230 ff., 487 ff.; LXXXII, 52 ff.; Herdler, "The Sentiment of Honor in Calderón's Theatre," *Modern Language Notes*, VIII, 3. There are several other studies less easily accessible and less important.

in the code and to reject all that was mean, un-Christian, cruel. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate Cervantes' attitude toward honor as evidenced by his life and writings.

HONOR AND THE CERVANTES FAMILY

Nothing is better established than the fact of Cervantes' personal courage. In battle he was brave to the point of rashness. He won laurels at Lepanto, the personal praise of his commander in chief, Don Juan de Austria, who also recommended him for a commission and actually increased his pay as a recompense for gallantry. He also displayed moral courage of a high order when in Algiers he several times, after the failure of plans for escape, assumed sole responsibility for the conspiracies, offered himself as a scapegoat, resolutely shielding his companions. These facts are so fully proved and universally known that it would be superfluous even to cite references.

We lack positive proof that Cervantes ever fought a duel, but it seems very probable that he did on at least one occasion. I allude to the document published by Morán in 1863, in which it appears that a certain Miguel de Cervantes was on the fifteenth of September, 1569, condemned to ten years' exile for having wounded a nobleman in a duel. We cannot be positively certain that this was not some other Miguel de Cervantes, but the date, 1569, is precisely that when we think Cervantes left Spain for Italy. Moreover, the story seems to be confirmed in two of Cervantes' works: *El gallardo español* and *Persiles y Sigismunda*. In the former a character bearing the name of Saavedra gives a similar reason for a hasty flight to Italy, and the same story, amplified, occurs again in the novel mentioned. Here the narrator, Antonio, is a character whom we can again identify with Cervantes himself. For a full discussion, see Schevill and Bonilla.¹ If Cervantes' personal duels were few, we may be sure that this was because his was not a contentious nature, not that he lacked courage.

But the point of honor in Cervantes' life arose chiefly in connection with the women of his family. This is not the place to retell at length the painful discoveries which modern research has brought to

¹ *Obras Completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid, 1914), I, xxxviii ff.

light with regard to them. I give merely a brief recapitulation with references to the places where fuller accounts may be found.

The scandal begins with the novelist's aunt, Doña María, daughter of the Licentiate Juan de Cervantes. Between the years 1529-31 she was the *amiga* and *manceba* of a wealthy prelate, Don Martín de Mendoza, archdean of Guadalajara. Apparently the father approved of this quasi-marriage. Before the relationship was entered into, Mendoza signed an obligation to pay a dowry of 500 ducats to enable Doña María to marry or to enter a convent as she might desire. This dowry he later refused to pay, alleging that his numerous gifts far exceeded that sum. Don Juan entered into protracted litigation, with the law on his side, but was balked by the unfair influence which the powerful Mendoza family exerted upon the judges. Poverty did not excuse this liaison as the family of Juan de Cervantes maintained *gran fausto de casa*, owning slaves, horses, coaches, and maintaining throngs of servants.

A generation passes and we find the novelist's two sisters, Andrea and Magdalena, involved in numerous breach of promise suits suggestive of blackmail. Sometimes the party sued is an inexperienced nobleman's son who agrees to marry and make a generous settlement on coming into possession of his estate. Sometimes the victim is an elderly man of affairs. Most frequently the sisters are found to be in equivocal relations with Italian bankers, virtually the only prosperous men of business to be found in the Spain of that day. The sisters seem to have had personal charm and shrewd legal advice. They tricked alike both the unwary and the cautious. In one instance the two sisters had relations with the same man.

This was the sad situation which Cervantes encountered when, after long years of soldiering and captivity, he returned home to assume the position of head of the family. He who was penniless must exert authority over two sisters financially more prosperous than himself. Two courses of action lay open to him. He must either restore the lost family honor by a cold-blooded honor murder, or accept the situation and lose caste. He chose the latter course. He who considered ingratitude one of the worst of sins could not turn against the warm-hearted Magdalena who had contributed to his ransom out of her slender dowry. "De gente bien nacida es

agradecer los beneficios que reciben, y uno de los pecados que más a Dios ofende es la ingratitud." (*D.Q.*, I, xxii.) He took no steps whatever to restore the family honor. He was always a devoted father, uncle, and brother. Though his attitude was weak and indulgent, it was Christian. He perhaps displayed a greater moral courage then than any he had shown in Algiers.

Years pass by and Andrea and Magdalena become old, poor, and pious. But a third generation of the Cervantes women carries on the unhappy tradition. The beloved niece, Costanza, is seriously compromised, while his daughter, the odious Isabel de Saavedra, becomes the most successful sharpster of them all. Documents show how she tricked a rich and elderly married man out of a house, and how he and Cervantes try to save appearances by arranging a hasty marriage with an unworthy adventurer, Molina. The aged admirer, Urbina, seems to have deeded over to Cervantes certain property, which he in turn deeded over to Isabel. Her adventures form a long chapter. She had all the sagacity which her father lacked. She was prosperous while he was dying in want, survived him by many years, and died rich in 1652. Cervantes seems to have exerted little or no authority over this headstrong daughter. His relations with her may have been uncordial; but in her case too he was incapable of doing what the code demanded. Honor was the great tragedy of Cervantes' life. He who added to the family honor must live in a dishonored household.¹

HONOR ALLUSIONS IN CERVANTES' WORKS—GENERALIZATIONS

Cervantes never condemns honor *in toto*. In general he accepts the ideas of his times, social, literary, and religious. When he reacts against them, his rebellion is instinctive rather than reasoned. He was a man guided by the heart rather than by the head. So in theory he accepts honor just as he accepts the catholic faith. We find in his writings numerous statements like the following:

De los bienes que reparten los cielos entre los mortales, los que más se han de estimar son los de la honra, a quien se posponen los de la vida (*P.y S.*,

¹ For justification of the foregoing statements see Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Miguel de Cervantes, A Memoir*, Oxford, 1913; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos* (2 Vols.), Madrid, 1897-1902; Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas*, Madrid, 1905; Alonso Cortés, *Casos cervantinos que tocan a Valladolid*, Madrid, 1905; Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*, Madrid, 1914.

II, ii]. Una onza de buena fama vale más que una litra de perlas [*ibid.*, II, xiv]. Porque la honra perdida y vuelta a cobrar con extremo, no tiene bien alguno que se le iguale [*ibid.*, II, xxi]. Honra que sobrepuja al de todas las acciones humanas [*P.y S.*, III, 1]. La honra vale más que el oro. Por la honra, la vida en poco estimo [*Casa de los celos*]. Honra que sobrepuja al de todas las acciones humanas [*ibid.*, III, 1].

Such generalizations are insignificant; we find countless such in all the writers of the time.

Similarly, it is plain that he does not undervalue female virtue:

Mira que no hay joya en el mundo que tanto valga como la mujer casta y honrada, y que todo el honor de las mujeres consiste en la opinión buena que dellas se tiene [*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii].

She must, however, not merely be virtuous, but maintain the appearance of virtue:

Lo primero le aconsejaría que mirase más a la fama que a la hacienda, porque la buena mujer no alcanza la buena fama solamente con ser buena, sino con parecerlo, que mucho más dañan a las honras de las mujeres, las desembolturas y libertades públicas que las maldades secretas [*D.Q.* II, xxii].

La hermosura que se acompaña con la honestidad, es hermosura; y la que no, no es más de un buen parecer [*P.y S.*, IV, i]. La mejor dote que puede llevar la mujer principal, es la honestidad, porque la hermosura y la riqueza el tiempo la gasta, o la fortuna la deshace [*ibid.*, IV, i]. La mujer ha de ser como el armiño, dejándose antes prender que enlodarse [*ibid.*, IV, i].

LIMITATIONS OF THE CODE

So much for generalities. Cervantes is much more interesting when he limits the code. In one long passage (*D.Q.*, II, xxvii) he tells us when one should and should not fight. It is licit to draw arms: (1) in defense on the Catholic faith; (2) to defend one's life, a procedure which he holds is sanctioned both by natural and divine law; (3) in defense of honor, family, and property; (4) serving one's king in a just war; and a fifth cause, he adds, is defense of the fatherland, unless this fifth reason be held identical with the second. To these five capital reasons, he says, a few others may be added provided they be just and reasonable:

Pero tomarlas por niñerías y por cosas que antes son de risa y pasatiempo que de afrenta parece que quien las toma carece de todo razonable discurso, cuanto más que el tomar venganza injusta (que justa no puede haber alguna

que lo sea) va derechamente contra la santa ley que profesamos, en la cual se nos manda que hagamos bien a nuestros enemigos y que amemos a los que nos aborrecen.

This passage is significant in that Cervantes here comes out strongly against vengeance, and seeks to reconcile honor and Christianity. These views are confirmed in many other passages. Elsewhere he mentions liberty as a reason for drawing arms: "Por la libertad así como por la honra, se puede, y debe aventurar la vida" (*D.Q.*, II, lviii). He accepts fully *la ley natural*: "Pues las divinas y humanas (leyes) permiten que cada uno se defienda de quien quisiere agraviarle" (*ibid.*, I, xii). He believes a gentleman should fight in defense of a woman: "Contra cuerdos y contra locos está obligado cualquier caballero andante a volver por la honra de las mujeres, cualesquiera que sean" (*ibid.*, I, xxv). Though the speaker is Don Quijote, one cannot doubt that the author accepts this principle and is not ridiculing it.

Cervantes' shrewd common sense led him to reject all silliness found in the honor code. In *El trato de Argel* he ridicules those fine gentlemen whose honor prevented them from lending a helping hand at the oar when their galleys were pursued by Algerian pirates. These often ended their days in Algiers, with honor intact at the price of liberty:

Pero allá tiene la honra
el cristiano en tal extremo,
que asir en un trance el remo
le parece que es deshonra.

While these words are spoken by a Moor, Cervantes clearly subscribes to the sentiment. He burlesques in his *Don Quijote* those duels fought for silly or insufficient reasons, as when one knight demands of another the confession of his lady's superior beauty; but nowhere in his writings is there any effort to ridicule or attack the finer ideals of chivalry, the protection of widows, orphans, and the weak and needy. Don Quijote, it is true, when protecting the weak, often aids the unworthy or does the worthy more harm than good (the adventure of Andrés); but the humor derives from his crazy application of a sound principle. The principle itself is as much accepted by Don Quijote's creator as by the ingenious hidalgo himself.

A GENTLEMAN'S HONOR

Cervantes, unlike Calderón, did not sanction unnecessary duels. In *El Laberinto de amor*, Manfredo is unjustly accused of kidnapping the Duke of Dorlán's daughter. When challenged to a duel, he neither refuses nor accepts, but pleads for time, that his innocence may appear and an unnecessary duel be avoided. This is another evidence of Cervantes' common sense and lack of false pride.

Apparently he felt that it was right to draw sword to resent a blow. In "La Gitanilla," Don Juan kills a soldier who had dealt him a *bofetón*. Juan, thought to be a gypsy, is arrested and in danger of losing his life, but there is no difficulty in securing his release and pardon when his true rank appears. Neither is any sympathy wasted on the soldier.

The principle that one friend should aid another in an affair of honor is considered axiomatic (*Galatea*, II, the story of Silenio). One must fight for one's friend's honor. In *El gallardo español*, el capitán Guzmán when arrested for dueling says:

Ni me afrenta ni me corre
este agravio, porque nace
de la justicia que hace
al que su amigo socorre.

More striking is the story of Uchali Farfax, a Calabrian who became a Turkish renegade because a Turk gave him a buffet and only a change of faith enabled him to fight the duel necessary to the restoration of his honor. This story was not told with approval of the act, but without evidence of surprise.

A gentleman should keep his promise:

que la promesa
del hidalgo o caballero
es deuda líquida expresa,
y ser siempre verdadero
el bien nacido profesa [*Los baños de Argel*].

A promise is so binding that a nobleman should keep his plighted faith to a girl inferior to him in station to whom he has promised marriage, for Cervantes holds that a lowly marriage does not bring dishonor. The specific instance is Fernando's promise to Dorotea (*D.Q.*, I, xxxvi). The principle of aiding a lady in distress is accepted:

"Contra cuerdos y contra locos está obligado cualquier cavallero andante a volver por la honra de las mujeres, cualesquiera que sean" (*ibid.*, I, xxv).

Like every other Spaniard of his time Cervantes had some interest in honor technicalities. After being beaten by the Yangüeses, Don Quijote cites a provision of the code to the effect that blows delivered with the implements of a trade do not "afrent." If a shoemaker hits you with his last, you are not dishonored. Hence, he argues, the staves of the drovers were the tools of their calling and blows delivered therewith brought no disgrace (*ibid.*, I, xv). This is, of course, burlesque of a technical absurdity. Similarly (*ibid.*, II, xxxii), where Don Quijote is insulted verbally by the duke's chaplain, the duke soothes him by stating that priests are powerless to insult in the technical sense (*no agravian*). Don Quijote agrees that priests, like women and children, cannot offend. He then makes a distinction between the *agravio* and the *afrenta*, the difference being that the *afrenta* can be and is sustained. For example, he says, a man is attacked by ten men armed with clubs. He draws sword and does his duty, but the numbers prevent the securing of vengeance. He remains *agraviado*, but not *afrentado*. Again, suppose a single antagonist beats a gentleman with a club treacherously from behind. The latter draws sword but the antagonist runs away. The man attacked remains *agraviado*, but not *afrentado*, because the attack is not sustained. If, however, the assailant remains and fights it out, the gentleman is both *agraviado* and *afrentado*, the former because the blow was a treacherous one. In this passage Cervantes speaks of "las leyes del maldito duelo." The word "maldito" seems to be significant of his attitude. Later in *Persiles y Sigismunda* (III, ix) in connection with Antonio's honor quarrel (which appears to have been Cervantes' own) it turns out that Antonio had been merely "agraviado" and not "afrentado" by his opponent, because the insults were spoken after the sword had been drawn and "la luz de las armas quita la fuerza a las palabras." Schevill and Bonilla see an inconsistency between these two passages, but the cases in point were quite different. It was an admitted principle that, after a gentleman had drawn a sword, whatever he said did not count as an insult which needed to be avenged.

The plot of *El gallardo español* hinges on an honor question. Don Fernando Saavedra (Cervantes himself?) is challenged by a Moor to a private duel. The commander in chief of the besieged city of Orán forbids him to accept the challenge, alleging with good sense that the public weal transcends private interests. Fernando escapes from the city, fights his duel and performs prodigies of valor which secure his final pardon. The point at issue is military discipline versus private honor, and the solution in favor of assertive individualism is very Spanish.

VENGEANCE

Cervantes never sanctions dueling for the sake of vengeance, still less a crime for that purpose, and a deferred, cold-blooded vengeance is doubly obnoxious to him. Compare the passage previously cited (*D.Q.*, II, xxvii) where he states unequivocally that there is no such thing as a just vengeance. In *El coloquio de los perros* he satirizes his countrymen's unhappy lust for vengeance. Berganza, the dog-hero, has been adopted by a troupe of actors. One day, during the acting of a farce, he is cruelly beaten. At the time he was muzzled and could not take vengeance. Later when his blood had cooled he would not, for: "la venganza pensada arguye crueldad y mal ánimo." A dog giving seventeenth-century Spain a needed lesson!

In *La Española inglesa* the young English naval commander spares the Spanish privateers on the ground that valor and cruelty are incompatible: "y querría que esta hazaña de hoy ni a mí ni a vosotros que en ella me habéis sido compañeros, nos diese mezclado con el nombre de valientes el renombre de crueles, porque nunca dijo bien la crueldad con la valentía."

Sancho expounds good Christian doctrine when he says: "No hay para qué, señor, tomar venganza de nadie, pues no es de los buenos Christianos tomarla de los agravios." To be sure, Don Quijote waxes sarcastic in his reply to this, for he sees that Sancho's Christianity is a cloak to cover his cowardice; but the humor lies in the situation which occasioned the remark, not in the views expressed. In reality they are Cervantes' own (*ibid.*, II, xi).

The author's hatred of cold-blooded vengeance is again seen in the episode (*ibid.*, II, lxiii) where the viceroy of Barcelona spares the lives of two guilty Turks, because, as he says: "no se ejecutan bien las venganzas a sangre helada." This is the more striking in that Cervantes had suffered at the hands of the Turks and came nearer hating them than any other race; but hatred seems a passion of which he was incapable.

JEALOUSY

If Cervantes attacked vengeance, it is not surprising that he shows a like attitude toward jealousy, that passion which more than any other motivated crimes of vengeance. In his well-known allegorical poem, *Los Celos*, he gives utterance to his detestation of jealousy.

Preciosa, in *La gitanilla*, expresses a view obviously more Cervantine than individual:

Nunca los celos, a lo que imagino, dejan el entendimiento libre para que pueda juzgar las cosas como ellas son: siempre miran los celosos con antojos de allende, que hacen las cosas pequeñas grandes, los enanos gigantes, y las sospechas verdades.

In the same novel is a panegyric of the free gypsy life, and their freedom from jealousy he considers not the least charm of their existence. Juan is urged to choose a bride but is warned:

. . . pero has de saber que una vez escogida, no la has de dejar por otra, ni te has de empachar ni entrometer, ni con las casadas, ni con las doncellas. Nosotros guardamos inviolablemente la ley de la amistad: ninguno solicita la prenda del otro; libres vivimos de la amarga pestilencia de los celos. Entre nosotros, aunque hay muchos incestos, no hay ningún adulterio; y cuando le hay en la mujer propia, o alguna bellaquería en la amiga, no vamos a la justicia a pedir castigo: nosotros somos los jueces y los verdugos de nuestras esposas o amigas; con la misma facilidad las matamos y las enterramos por las montañas y desiertos como si fueran animales nocivos: no hay pariente que las vengue, ni padres que nos pidan su muerte. Con este temor y miedo ellas procuran ser castas, y nosotros, como ya he dicho, vivimos seguros. Pocas cosas tenemos que no sean comunes a todos, excepto la mujer o la amiga, que queremos que cada una sea del que le cupo en suerte. Entre nosotros así hace divorcio la vejez como la muerte: el que quisiere puede dejar la mujer vieja, como él sea mozo, y escoger otra que corresponda al gusto de sus años. Con estas y con otras leyes y estatutos nos conservamos

y vivimos alegres. . . . No nos fatiga el temor de perder la honra, ni nos desvela la ambición de acrecentarla, ni a acompañar magnates, ni a solicitar favores.

Los celos rompen toda seguridad y recato, aunque del se armen los pechos enamorados [*Persiles*, I, ii].

In the Spain of Cervantes jealousy was not merely the evil that it always is, but a social plague and a chief cause of crime. The common sense and humanity of Cervantes recognized this fact. He never ceased to preach against it.

CERVANTES' KINDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN

Cervantes invariably shows tenderness and charity toward womankind. A young girl should be allowed to choose her future mate—a very modern idea.

El comer y el casar ha de ser a gusto propio, y no a voluntad ajena [*La guarda cuidadosa*]. Porque decía él, y decía muy bien, que no habían de dar los padres a sus hijos contra su voluntad [*D.Q.*, I, xii]. Pues los dos éramos iguales, era bien dejar a la voluntad de su querida el escojer a su gusto, cosa digna de imitar de todos los padres que a sus hijos quieren poner en estado [*ibid.*, I, li].

The same thought recurs in Mauricio's story (*Persiles*, I, xii): "me sobró el cuidado de criar la hija . . . carga difícil de llevar de cansados y ancianos hombros." (Who can help but be reminded of Isabel de Saavedra?) He arranges a marriage for her:

Tomando consentimiento primero de mi hija, por parecerme acertado y aun conveniente que los padres casen a sus hijas con su beneplácito y gusto, pues no les dan compañía por un día, sino por todos aquellos que les durare la vida; y, de no hacer esto así, se han seguido, siguen y seguirán millares de inconvenientes, que los más suelen parar en desastrosos sucesos.

It is thus that Cervantes anticipates the thesis so well treated by Moratín in *El sí de las niñas*.

Cervantes accepts the doctrine that all is fair in love and war:

Teneos, señores, teneos, que no es razón toméis venganza de los agravios que el amor nos hace: y advertid que el amor y la guerra son una misma cosa y así como en la guerra es cosa lícita y acostumbrada usar de ardides y estratagemas para vencer al enemigo así en las contiendas y competencias amorosas se tienen por buenos los embustes y marañas que se hacen para conseguir el fin que se desea, como no sean en menoscabo y deshonor de la cosa amada [*D.Q.*, II, xxi].

The thought here expressed is sufficiently commonplace. Calderón uses the doctrine to excuse lovers' tricks which in our modern code of gentlemanly conduct would be dishonorable: the reading of another's correspondence, and petty deceits of every description. Cervantes gives it a broader interpretation, and holds that feminine lapses due to love are not to be considered grounds for a duel.

He has the utmost charity for what he calls "yerros de amor." For example, Cardenio in *La Entretenida*:

Si me queréis de castigar,
primero advertid, señores,
que los yerros de amores
son dignos de perdonar.

Las culpas que comete el enamorado en razón de que no es suyo ni es él el que las comete, sino el amor que manda su voluntad [*Persiles*, II, xiii]. De ellos supieron otra vez los traidores desinios de Policarpo; pero no les parecieron tan traidores que no hallase en ellos disculpa el haber sido por el amor forjados: disculpa bastante de mayores yerros, que, cuando ocupa a un alma la pasión amorosa, no hay discurso con que acierte ni razón que no atropelle [*ibid.*, II, xvii].

If Cervantes accepts the view of his time that woman is a fragile and imperfect creature, it is only to draw the moral that it devolves upon men to maintain a virtue so easily compromised:

Mira amigo, que la mujer es animal imperfecto, y que no se han de poner embarazos donde tropiece y caiga, sino quitárselos y despejalle el camino de cualquier inconveniente, para que sin pesadumbre corra lijera a alcanzar la perfección que le falta, que consiste en ser virtuosa [*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii]. Es así mesmo la buena mujer como el espejo de cristal luciente y claro, pero está sujeto a empañarse y escurecerse con qualquiera aliento que le toque. Ha de usar con la honesta mujer el estilo que con las reliquias, adorarlas y no tocarlas [*ibid.*, I, xxxiii].

A gentleman should not breathe slander against even the erring woman. Don Quijote cautions Sancho to maintain secrecy concerning the bed-chamber visit of the supposed princess of the castle:

Porque has de saber, mas esto que ahora quiero decirte, hasme de jurar que lo tendrás secreto hasta después de mi muerte. Sí juro, respondió Sancho. Dígolo, replicó don Quijote, porque soy enemigo de que se quite la honra a nadie [*D.Q.*, I, vii].

In *El laberinto de amor*, Rosamira, daughter of Duke Anastasio, is falsely accused of adultery by Dagoberto, who offers to maintain his

assertion in the lists. Manfredo defends her cause and establishes her innocence. This plot, the well-known folk-lore story of the queen or queen's daughter falsely accused, is hackneyed and without interest. What is novel in the literature of the time is Anastasio's human and fatherly attitude:

que, ora sea verdad, ora mentira
el relatado caso que la infama,
el ser ella muger, y amor la causa,
debieran en tu lengua poner pausa.
No te azores, escúchame: o tú solo
sabías este caso, o ya a noticia
vino de más de alguno que notólo,
o por curiosidad o por malicia.
Si solo lo sabías, mal mirólo
tu discreción, pues, no siendo justicia,
pretende castigar secretas culpas,
teniendo las de amor tantas disculpas.
Si a muchos era el caso manifiesto,
dexaras que otro alguno le dixera:
que no es decente a tu valor ni honesto,
tener para ofender lengua ligera.
Si notas de mi arenga el presupuesto,
verás que digo, o que dezir quisiera,
que espadas de los principes, qual eres,
no ofenden, mas defienden las mugeres.

Cervantes accepted the common theory that for purposes of honor husband and wife are one, and that the former may lose honor through the latter's transgressions. He does not, however, use this theory to justify honor murders, as will soon be shown:

Y tiene tanta fuerza y virtud este milagroso sacramento que hace que dos diferentes personas sean una mesma carne: y aun hace más en los buenos casados, que aunque tienen dos almas, no tienen más de una voluntad. Y de aquí viene que como la carne de la esposa sea una mesma con la del esposo, las manchas que en ella caen, o los defectos que se procura, redundan en la carne del marido, aunque el no haya dado, como queda dicho, ocasión para aquel daño. Porque así como el dolor del pie, o de cualquier miembro del cuerpo humano, se siente todo el cuerpo, por ser todo de una carne mesma: y la cabeza siente el daño del tobillo, sin que ella se le haya causado. Así el marido es participante de la deshonra de la mujer, por ser una mesma cosa con ella. Y como las honras y deshonras del mundo sean todas y nazcan de

carne y sangre y las de la mujer mala sean deste género, es forzoso que al marido le quepa parte dellas y sea tenido por deshonorado, sin que él lo sepa [*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii].

THE MERCIFUL DÉNOUEMENT

Let us now examine a number of instances where the point of honor occurs in Cervantes' writings. It will be seen that the dénouement is always illustrative of Cervantes' mercy and charity where woman is concerned.

In *La Española inglesa*, the camarera poisons the heroine Isabela, and though she recovers, her beauty is supposed to be permanently destroyed. Ricardo, Isabela's lover, begs Queen Elizabeth to pardon the criminal. He will not take vengeance on a woman, even though she be guilty.

In *El casamiento engañoso*, the Alférez Campuzano is tricked into marriage by an adventuress who plunders him and elopes with another. He sets out, sword in hand, to kill her, but nothing happens. Not finding her, cooler reflection leads him to think that he has been rightly served. He had tried to cheat her, imagining her to be rich, and had been beaten at his own game. "No quise buscarla, por no hallar el mal que me faltaba."

Similarly in *El Licenciado Vidriera*, the Glass Licenciate is asked what advice to give the husband of an eloping wife: "Díle que dé gracias a Dios por haber permitido le llevasen de casa a su enemigo. —Luego no irá a buscarla? dijo el otro.—Ni por pienso, replicó Vidriera, porque sería el hallarla un perpetuo y verdadero testigo de su deshonor." Cervantes here gives his age good advice in humorous form.

La fuerza de la sangre well illustrates Cervantes' attitude toward honor. Leocadia, the heroine, is kidnapped by a young blade, Rodolfo, and conveyed to his apartments. Although this takes place before the very eyes of father and mother they make a virtue of secrecy and do not inform the police, "temerosos no fuesen ellos el principal instrumento de publicar su deshonor." The father says: "Es mejor la deshonor que se ignora que la honra que está puesta en opinión de las gentes." After the seduction Leocadia urges her lover to kill her: "Quítamela (la vida) al momento, que no es bien que la tenga la que no tiene honra; mira que el rigor de la crueldad que

has usado conmigo en ofenderme se templará con la piedad que usarás en matarme; y así en un mismo punto vendrás a ser cruel y piadoso." Rodolfo is unmoved by this rhetoric and tiring of his amour releases his victim. Leocadia returns to her home and makes, to her father, a clean breast of her disgrace, which still remains secret. The father neither kills her nor sends her to a convent, but aids her in every way. Neither is his attitude changed when she later gives birth to a son:

Y advierte, hija, he says, que más lastima una onza de infamia pública que una arroba de infamia secreta; y pues puedes vivir honrada con Dios en público, no te pene de estar deshonorada contigo en secreto; la verdadera deshonor está en el pecado, y la verdadera honra en la virtud: con el dicho, con el deseo, y con la obra se ofende a Dios; y pues tú, ni en dicho, ni en pensamiento, ni en hecho le has ofendido, tente por honrada, que yo por tal tendré, sin que jamás te mire sino como verdadero padre tuyo.

After several years a marriage is discreetly arranged between Rodolfo and Leocadia, and the honor problem is happily solved. Like most writers of the time, Cervantes thinks that he has done well by his heroine in bestowing her upon an unscrupulous rake. The points to note are that Leocadia's father stretches the principle of secrecy in the interests of humanity; that Cervantes does not accept the barbarous principle of "A secreto agravio, secreta venganza"; and that vice is held to be dishonor, virtue honor.

Teodosia, heroine of *Las dos doncellas*, though less innocent, is the recipient of equal charity. She has allowed herself to be seduced by Marco Antonio, under promise of marriage. (Andrea de Cervantes had claimed to be *desposada y concertada* with a certain Nicolás de Ovando.) Marco Antonio abandoned her and she, clad in male attire, took to the road in pursuit of the faithless one. Arriving at an inn she was forced to share a room with a male traveler. During the night she indiscreetly confides her story to the stranger. In the morning she discovers to her horror that she has disclosed her dishonor to her own brother. She hands him her sword and urges him to take her life, with the one stipulation that the murder be so discreetly done that her dishonor shall not be made public. The brother is at first tempted to take her life, but after a moment's consideration, he lifts her up, consoles her, tells her that no punish-

ment can equal her folly and that not all the doors opening upon remedy are closed. Brother and sister take to the road, overtake Marco Antonio, who shows that there has been a misunderstanding and readily fulfils his obligations. Returning home the principals find their aged fathers engaged in an honor duel, which automatically stops when explanations are made. In this story Cervantes shows the inadvisability of taking hasty vengeance.

In *La Señora Cornelia*, Lorenzo Bentibolli makes a virtue of secrecy: "Las infamias mejor es que se presuman y sospechen que no que se sepan de cierto y distintamente, que entre el sí y el no de la duda, cada uno puede inclinarse a la parte que más quisiere, y cada una tendrá sus valedores." He and a friend demand a reckoning of the offender, the reigning duke, Alfonso de Este. The latter prefers a mésalliance to breaking his plighted word to a woman, and all ends happily. One doubts if the Estes of history were as magnanimous as Cervantes represents them.

But the greatest instance of magnanimity is probably that afforded by *El celoso extremeño*. Carrizales, the hero, has returned to Seville from the Indies, aged, rich, and insanely jealous. He marries a young girl, Leonora, upon whom he bestows a princely marriage portion. He builds for her a fortress-like mansion in which she lives a prisoner, surrounded by every luxury, carefully secluded from all male society. But love laughs at locksmiths. A young blade, Loyasa, effects an entrance. This *novela* has come down to us in two versions. In the *borrador* Leonora sins. In the printed version she is merely compromised by Loyasa. Though this change is to the detriment of the plot and diminishes the husband's magnanimity, Cervantes could not resist it. It is significant that in this case revision took the form of greater consideration for a woman. This is the vengeance which Carrizales decides upon, addressing his wife's parents:

La venganza que pienso tomar desta afrenta no es ni ha de ser de las que ordinariamente suelen tomarse; pues quiero que, así como yo fuf extremado en lo que hice, así sea la venganza que tomare, tomándola de mí mismo, como del más culpado en este delito; que debiera considerar que mal podían estar ni compadecerse en uno los quince años desta muchacha con los casi ochenta míos. Yo fuf el que, como el gusano de seda, me fabriqué la casa donde muriese, y si a ti no te culpo, oh niña mal aconsejada!—y diciendo esto, se

inclinó y besó el rostro de la desmayada Leonora—; no te culpo, digo, porque persuasiones de viejas taimadas y requiebros de mozos enamorados fácilmente vencen y triunfan del poco ingenio que los pocos años encierren. Mas porque todo el mundo vea el valor de los quilates de la voluntad y fe con que te quise, en este último trance de mi vida quiero mostrarlo de modo que quede en el mundo por ejemplo, si no de bondad, al menos, de simplicidad jamás oída ni vista; y así, quiero que se traiga luego aquí un escribano, para hacer de nuevo mi testamento, en el cual mandaré doblar la dote a Leonora, y le rogaré que después de mis días, que serán bien breves, disponga su voluntad, pues lo podrá hacer sin fuerza, a casarse con aquel mozo, a quien nunca ofendieron las canas deste lastimado viejo; y así verá que, si viviendo jamás salí un punto de lo que pude pensar ser su gusto, en la muerte hago lo mismo, y quiero que le tenga con el que ella debe de querer tanto. La demás hacienda mandaré a otras obras pías; y a vosotros, señores míos, dejaré con que podáis vivir honradamente lo que de la vida os queda.

He frees the guilty slaves, and also rewards with presents these and others who have betrayed him. After Carrizales' death, Leonora, whose heart has been touched, enters a convent. Loyasa seeks a life of adventure in the new world.

The *novela of El curioso impertinente* offers an excellent pendant to *El celoso extremeño*. The point of honor is here argued with greater subtlety than elsewhere, particularly as regards the mutual obligations of friendship. Anselmo has made a happy marriage with Camila. The two are devoted to each other; but one thing disturbs Anselmo's happiness. Would Camila resist temptation? To satisfy his doubt he urges a friend, Lotario, to play the lover to Camila. Lotario points out the folly of this. Anselmo should let well enough alone: "La buena y verdadera amistad no puede ni debe de ser sospechosa en nada, con todo esto es tan delicada la honra del casado que parece que se puede ofender aun de los mismos hermanos, cuanto más de los amigos" (*D.Q.*, I, xxxiii). He further urges that all three parties risk losing honor: "Porque si yo he de procurar quitarte la honra, claro está que te quito la vida, pues el hombre sin honra, peor es que un muerto: y siendo yo el instrumento, como tú quieres que lo sea de tanto mal tuyo, no vengo a quedar deshonorado, y por el mismo consiguiente sin vida?" (*loc. cit.*). And again: "Tú me tienes por amigo, y quieres quitarme la honra, cosa que es contra toda amistad: y aun no sólo pretendes esto, sino que procuras que yo te la quite a ti" (*ibid.*). Lotario furthermore argues that Camila

will hold him a man remiss in his duty to a friend, hence a man without honor. Likewise she will think that some act of her own has caused his conduct. Hence she will look upon herself as one dishonored, and automatically her husband, Anselmo, will lose his honor too (*ibid.*). Neither the good sense nor the dialectics of Lotario convince Anselmo. Lotario begins his obligatory courtship. At first he plays the rôle of faithful friend, and Camila that of loyal wife. But the two are playing with fire. Their characters undergo rapid disintegration. In the end they trick and deceive the foolish husband in a way which makes them both odious to the reader. Nevertheless Camila is the recipient of the usual Cervantine charity. The dénouement is precisely the same as that of *El celoso extremeño*. Anselmo forgives and dies; Camila enters a convent; Lotario dies in battle. Anselmo's parting letter is as follows:

Un necio e impertinente deseo me quitó la vida. Si las nuevas de mi muerte llegaren a los oídos de Camila, sepa que yo la perdono, porque no estaba ella obligada a hacer milagros, ni yo tenía necesidad de querer que ella los hiciese: y pues yo fui el fabricante de mi deshonra, no hay para qué. . . . [*D.Q.*, I, xxxv].

Don Quijote contains two other honor stories of slight importance. First (*D.Q.*, I, li), Leandra elopes with a soldier who had promised to marry her. He robs her, leaving her virtue intact. The father fails to take the approved steps to restore the family honor, merely placing his daughter in a convent until the scandal shall have passed over. He expresses the opinion that her youth excuses her folly. Second, Claudia Gerónima (*ibid.*, II, lx) fancying herself deceived by her betrothed, shoots him, wounding him mortally. In reality he is innocent, the victim of a misunderstanding. Before he dies the lovers meet, the misunderstanding is cleared away, and vows are again exchanged. After the death of her betrothed, Claudia, repentant, enters a convent. Cervantes here makes a man the innocent victim of an honor situation; he never had the heart to make a woman suffer in similar fashion.

The *Persiles y Sigismunda* is full of honor stories. Periandro (*ibid.*, II, xiii) relates how, while privateering on the high seas, he captured a ship commanded by Leopoldo, king of Danea. Below decks he found a youth and a young girl bound in a pillory. These are

the queen of Danea and a page with whom she had deceived her husband. The only ransom which Periandro will accept is the pardon of the guilty pair. Leopoldo complies, in spite of the fact that the queen had also plotted against his life. Periandro argues that: "la grandeza del rey algún tanto resplandece más en ser misericordiosos que justicieros." A similar thought occurs later (*ibid.*, III, x): "Los jueces discretos castigan, pero no toman venganza de los delitos; los prudentes y los piadosos meclan la equidad con la justicia, y, entre el rigor y la clemencia, dan luz de su buen entendimiento." Compare these passages with the advice given Sancho as to the method of best governing his *insula*:

Quando pudiere y debiere tener lugar la equidad, no cargues todo el rigor de la ley al delincuente, que no es mejor la fama del juez riguroso que la del compasivo. Si acaso doblares la vara de la justicia, no sea con el peso de la dádiva, sino con el de la misericordia [*D.Q.*, II, xlii].

Ambrosia Agustina (*ibid.*, III, 12), hearing that her husband is a captive of the Moors, assumes male attire and enlists as a soldier. In this compromising garb she meets her brother and husband. "Qué traje es éste, hermana mía? Y mi esposo dijo 'Qué mudanza es ésta, mitad de mi alma? que si tu bondad no estuviera tan a parte de tu honra, yo hiciera luego que trocaras este traje con el de la mortaja.'" However, he has perfect faith in her honor and takes no vengeance.

Ruperta (*ibid.*, III, xvi, xvii) was the wife of Lamberto de Escocia. Claudio Rubicón, a former lover, kills her husband in a fit of jealousy. Ruperta swears vengeance. She wears mourning, compels her servants to do likewise, and on all her travels drapes her bedchamber with black. She carries about her husband's head in a case of silver to serve as a perpetual reminder of her duty. Claudio dies. She then resolves to kill his son, Croriano. The latter chances to take lodging at an inn where Ruperta is staying. She bribes his servant to admit her to his sleeping-chamber at night. She enters with a sword in one hand and a lamp in the other, but is so impressed with the beauty of the sleeping youth that she drops the sword, awakening him. Croriano, equally impressed with her beauty, offers to atone for his father's wrong by marrying her. Again the merciful dénouement. When Ruperta resolves to spare Croriano, she says: "Gózate,

gózate, joven ilustre, y quédese en mi pecho mi venganza y mi crueldad encerrada, que, cuando se sepa, mejor nombre me dará el ser piadosa que vengativa."

Another significant episode is the story of Feliciano de la Voz, "la doncella encerrada en el árbol" (*ibid.*, III, III, IV, V). While the pilgrims are passing through Extremadura, a horseman comes up bearing a newborn babe which he requests them to carry to a certain address in Trujillo, and, stating that he is pursued, hastily rides away. Soon after there comes a beautiful girl, likewise pursued on account of an affair of honor. She demands protection and is hidden over night in a hollow tree. She is Feliciano de la Voz, so called for her gift of song. Her parents, poor hidalgos, had arranged for her a marriage with another poor hidalgo, Luis Antonio. But she had become betrothed to another even more eligible, because richer, hidalgo, Rosanio. Like most young ladies of the time involved in honor difficulties, she has no mother. "Destas juntas y destos hurtos amorosos," she says, "se acortó mi infamia, si es que se puede llamar infamia la conversación de los desposados amantes." She is about to become a mother. One day the father tells her to prepare a good supper as her betrothal to Luis Antonio is to take place that evening. The excitement brings on a delivery. A servant, Leonora, takes the baby to Rosanio, the father. But Feliciano's father, hearing a commotion, enters the kitchen, learns the truth, and hastens in pursuit of Rosanio. Feliciano then escapes and takes refuge with the pilgrims. After a night in the hollow tree, she dons pilgrim attire and proceeds with them to the convent of Our Lady of Guadalupe. On the way thither they had left the baby at the indicated address in Trujillo. During the services at Guadalupe, Feliciano sings. Her father and brother, who chance to be in the audience, recognize her marvelous voice. The brother rushes forward to kill her on the spot. The father restrains him, but only on account of the sacred spot. Both linger outside the church, and when Feliciano emerges, attack her. The pilgrims and the police manage to protect her. One of the characters reasons thus:

Señor Don Sancho, nunca la cólera prometió buen fin de sus ímpetus: ella es pasión del ánimo, y el ánimo apasionado pocas veces acierta en lo que emprende. Vuestra hermana supo escojer buen marido; tomar venganza

de que no se guardaron las debidas ceremonias y respetos, no será bien hecho porque os pondréis a peligro de derribar y echar por tierra todo el edificio de vuestro sosiego.

The father snatches the dagger from his son's hand, and both become sweetly reasonable. Rosanio is recognized as a son, and a marriage makes all right.

I have purposely saved for the last the story of the Polaco, Ortel Banedre (*P.y S.*, III, vi, vii). The episode consists of two parts, the first based on fiction, the second freely adapted from fact.

The Pole, Ortel Banedre, while walking the streets of Lisbon, is violently brushed aside by a Portuguese noble. He draws sword to avenge the *afrenta* and kills the aggressor. Pursued by the police, he enters a mansion and makes his way to an inner apartment, where he finds the mistress of the house in bed. He states his case and demands protection, "por forastero." The lady hides him in an alcove behind her bed. Servants enter bearing the body of the lady's only son, Don Duarte, the one slain in the duel. Enter next the police who have seen Ortel enter the house. "He is not in this room at least," the bereaved mother replies to their questions; "you may seek him yonder, although please God that you may not find him, because one death is ill remedied by another, and the more so when the wrong is not of a malicious nature." Later the lady, Doña Guiomar de Sosa, smuggles Ortel out of the house with a present of 100 ducats. The law of hospitality has prevailed over private vengeance.

It is well known that this story proceeds from Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* (1565, 6th novel, 6th decade).¹ Giraldi Cinthio's heroine is even more generous, because she adopts her son's slayer in his place. But Cervantes doubtless thought that this additional touch was superfluous. Now Cervantes rarely plagiarizes. It is significant that he was attracted by none of Giraldi Cinthio's lewd tales, but could not resist the temptation to make his own this conspicuous example of generosity. Similar situations occur in the drama of Calderón.

After years in the Indies the Pole returns rich. Stopping overnight at an inn in Talavera, he sees a beautiful girl, Luisa, kicked and beaten by Alonso, the innkeeper's son. The Polaco falls in love with

¹ *Persiles y Sigismunda* (edited by Schevill and Bonilla, Madrid, 1914), II, 303.

the girl and is accepted as a husband on account of his wealth. He desires no other dowry than his bride's beauty. He covers her with jewels. Immediately after the marriage, Luisa elopes with her old lover, Alfonso, the pair taking all of the Polaco's wealth they can lay hands upon. The latter, learning that the two are under arrest in Madrid, is on his way thither to take vengeance upon them. Perian-dro gives him this excellent advice:

Vos, señor, ciego de vuestra cólera, no echáis de ver que vais a dilatar y a estender vuestra deshonra. Hasta agora no estáis más deshonorado de entre los que os conocen en Talavera, que deben de ser bien pocos, y agora vais a serlo de los que os conocerán en Madrid; queréis ser como el labrador que crió la víbora serpiente en el seno todo el invierno, y, por merced del cielo, cuando llegó el verano, donde ella pudiera aprovecharse de su ponzoña, no la halló, porque se había ido; el cual, sin agradecer esta merced al cielo, quiso ir a buscar, y volverla a anidar en su casa y en su casa y en su seno, no mirando ser suma prudencia no buscar el hombre lo que no le está bien hallar, y a lo que comunmente se dice, que, al enemigo que huye, la puente de plata; y el mayor que el hombre tiene, suele decirse que es la mujer propia. Pero esto debe de ser en otras religiones que en la cristiana, entre las cuales los matrimonios son una manera de concierto y conveniencia, como lo es el de alquilar una casa o otra alguna heredad; pero, en la religión católica, el casamiento es sacramento que sólo se desata con la muerte o con otras cosas que son más duras que la misma muerte, las cuales pueden escusar la cohabitación de los dos casados, pero no deshacer el nudo con que ligados fueron. Qué pensáis que os sucederá cuando la justicia os entregue a vuestros enemigos, atados y rendidos, encima de un teatro público, a la vista de infinitas gentes, y a vos blandiendo el cuchillo encima del cadahalso, amenazando el segarles las gargantas, como si pudiera su sangre limpiar, como vos decís, vuestra honra? Qué os puede suceder, como digo, sino hacer más público vuestro agravio? Porque las venganzas castigan, pero no quitan las culpas; y las que en estos casos se cometen, como la enmienda no proceda de la voluntad, siempre se están en pie, y siempre están vivas en las memorias de las gentes, a lo menos, en tanto que vive el agraviado. Así que, señor, volved en vos, y, dando lugar a la misericordia, no corráis tras la justicia. Y no os aconsejo por esto a que perdonéis a vuestra mujer, para volverla a vuestra casa, que a esto no hay ley que os obligue; lo que os aconsejo es que la dejéis, que es el mayor castigo que podéis darle. Vivid lejos della, y viviréis; lo que no haréis estando juntos, porque moriréis continuo. La ley del repudio fué muy usada entre los romanos; y puesto que sería mayor caridad perdonarla, recogerla, sufrirla y aconsejarla, es menester tomar el pulso a la paciencia y poner en un punto estremado a la discreción, de la cual pocos se pueden

fiar en esta vida, y más cuando la contrastan inconvenientes tantos y tan pesados. Y, finalmente, quiero que consideréis que vais a hacer un pecado mortal en quitarles las vidas, que no se ha de cometer por todas las ganancias que la honra del mundo ofrezca.

For the moment, at least, the Pole accepts this advice and resolves to return to Poland. Luisa and her lover, released, go to Italy. She abandons Antonio and takes up with a Spanish soldier, Bartolomé el Manchego. They meet Alonso in Rome, and in a fight the latter is killed by Bartolomé. While this is happening the Polaco, who had gone to Italy rather than to Poland, comes up and attacks Bartolomé. Luisa stabs her husband in the back and he dies. The pair are arrested and condemned to death. But Cervantes could not bear, apparently, to mete out to them their just punishment. They are released through the efforts of the French ambassador, go to Naples, and, it is hinted, come to a bad end.

I have said that this second portion of the story has some slight historic foundation. A Pole, Ortel Banedre, was in fact, if we can accept the doubtful authority of Adolfo de Castro, notorious for the brutal part he played in a judicial honor murder which took place in Seville in the year 1565. He was an innkeeper whose wife had deceived him with a mulatto. The guilty pair were placed upon a scaffold in the public square, and, in accordance with the law then prevailing, the husband took his brutal vengeance before the eyes of the multitude. "Encima de un teatro público," says an old document, "a la vista de infinitas gentes, el agraviado esposo saco un cuchillo y se puso a dar infinitas cuchilladas a ambos delincuentes, hasta que murieron. Mostró una crueldad la cual no se acuerdan haberse visto ni oído en semejante caso."¹

Now it may be that the case of Ortel Banedre appealed to Cervantes as a particularly brutal example of honor vengeance. He then devised a story to show what Ortel Banedre should have done. The words of Periandro quoted above indicate Cervantes' own solution of this particular case. Ortel Banedre, is, however, incapable of following it and therefore meets a deserved fate. He draws sword, and, failing of vengeance, perishes by the sword.

¹ See Schevill and Bonilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 f., where they quote from the document, originally published by Adolfo de Castro in the *Crónica de los cervantistas* for 1876.

CONCLUSIONS

The many examples cited show that while Cervantes was too much a man of his age to condemn the duel *in toto*, his attitude toward honor was very advanced. He subscribes to everything in the code which was noble and generous. His common sense leads him to reject what was silly; his sweet and chivalrous nature condemns what was mean and cruel. The same kindliness which induced him to throw the mantle of charity over the shortcomings of his kin is extended to the creatures of his fancy. It may be that he seeks at times to give literary justification for the acts of his private life; but it seems more probable that his acts, as his writings, were determined by his disposition.

His charity for women is all-embracing. It is even extended to the common prostitute, Maritornes. After his unfortunate blanketing, Maritornes solaces Sancho with a drink of wine, "porque en efecto se dice della, que aunque estava en aquel trato, tenfa unas sombras y lejos de christiana" (*D.Q.*, I, xvii). It may be inquired whether there may be found in his writings examples differing from those I have cited. To this it may be replied with confidence that in all of Cervantes' voluminous writings there is no single instance to be found where his attitude toward woman is unchivalrous, where his attitude toward honor shows an ungenerous spirit.

The study of Cervantes' views on honor brings out strongly the pity, the human sympathy of the man, and gives one of the best possible answers to the question why he alone of his contemporary Spanish writers became a universal writer.

In one of the concluding chapters of *Persiles y Sigismunda* is a collection of aphorisms, called "Flor de aforismos peregrinos." (The title suggests Meredith's *Pilgrim's Scrip*.) These are not brilliant maxims, but they sum up the mature views of the dying author. They were almost the last words he ever wrote. The second on the list seems to be a cry from the heart: "No hay carga más pesada que la mujer liviana." The wanton woman was indeed the heaviest burden which Cervantes ever had to carry. It was the tragedy of his life that he who was so brave, so noble, so chivalrous, was, owing to family difficulties, a man whose honor had been sullied. But he knew well that there is a higher honor than technical honor and that

so-called honor based upon crime. Below the aphorism cited is the following: "Dichoso es el soldado que cuando está peleando, sabe que le está mirando su Príncipe." Was he thinking of Lepanto and how Don Juan de Austria had personally witnessed his daring exploits? And immediately below this: "La honra que se alcanza por la guerra, como se graba en láminas de bronce y con puntas de acero, es más firme que las demás honras." According to the barbarous standards of his time Cervantes may have been a social *déclassé*, but nothing, he felt, could deprive him of honor won in battle. And if this thought offered insufficient comfort, he could still turn to another noble aphorism of his own making: "La honra puedela tener el pobre, pero no el vicioso" (*D.Q.*, II, Prologue).¹

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¹ Other, not very significant, allusions to honor can be found here and there in Cervantes' works: In *La gitanilla* there is described a street duel motivated by love. The victors take refuge in a monastery and later escape with the intention of taking refuge in Italy. In *La Ilustre fregona*, Costanza's mother was the victim of a rape. She manages to keep her disgrace a secret, but dies before reparation is made. The father does what he can to make amends to his illegitimate daughter. In *Persiles y Sigismunda* (II, xix and xxi) Renato, a French noble, loves Eusebia, a lady-in-waiting to the French queen. A rival, Libsomiros, betrays Renato to the king and challenges Renato to a duel. The king refuses to sanction this, and the pair meet in Germany. Libsomiros wins. Renato, deprived of honor, becomes a hermit in a northern isle. Eusebia follows him thither, and the pair live together, chastely, as hermits. Libsomiros falls ill and confesses his villainy. The king sends a messenger to the pair, officially restoring their honor. They abandon their holy state, return home, and marry.

OLD FRENCH *MIRE* FROM LATIN *MEDICUM*

The *r* in such semi-learned forms as *mire*, *remire*, and *homecire* has been systematically discussed by both Tobler and Paris, the former in *Romania*, II, 241-46, the latter in *Romania*, VI (1877) 129-33.¹ Tobler's theory was that *r* in these words was intercalated to break the hiatus. To support this explanation he presented a long list of examples which he believed came under this heading: *mire*,² *remire*, *homecire*, *Allyre*, *navire* < *navigium*, *artumaire* < *arte magica*, *grammaire*, *daumaire*, *fire*, *estuire*, *convirer* < *convitare*, *esbarir* < *esbaïr*, *garigna* < *gaïgna*, *soron* < *secundum*, *devorer* < *devoër*, *afirree* < *afiëe*, *Acaries* < *Arcadius*, *sureau* < *seu-r-el*, *car* < *que*, *lor* < *la ou*.

Gaston Paris disposed of all these forms save *mire*, *remire*, *homecire*, *navire* (< *navilium*, as he claims), *artimaire* (< *arte mathematica*), *grammaire*, *daumaire*, *fire*, and *estuire*. He showed that, with the exception of these nine, Tobler had brought together a group of forms which had not been thoroughly attested. G. Paris then made further additions of his own to the list: *nobire* < *nobilium*, *envire* < *invidia*, *concire* < *concilium*, *evangire* < *evangelium*, *apostoire* < *apostolium*, and the proper names *Basire*, *Mabire*, *Aulaire*. These eight additional cases led him to propose a new theory, that the *r* was derived from a *d* through the transition stage of an *l*. To quote:

Reste à savoir comment la dentale des mots en question s'est changée en *r*. A mon avis elle a passé par *l*. . . . La cause de l'altération du *d* (primitif ou secondaire) dans tous ces mots est évidemment l'influence exercée par le *yod* voisin, bien que le changement direct du *d* en *l* ne soit peut-être sans

¹ Reprinted in his *Mélanges linguistiques*, publiés par M. Roques, 1909, pp. 270-75. I should also mention the following treatments of the word *mire*: Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 640; Körting, *Formenbau des französischen Nomens*, p. 313; and Gorra, *Studj di filologia romanza*, VI, 382. Diez believed the etymon to be *medicarius*.

² Are there any other possible analogical influences here? *Mirer* could possibly have influenced *mire* and *remire* and then perhaps the *-aria* ending has had an effect upon such words as *grammaire*, *daumaire*. It is certainly possible that these analogical influences may have existed, but at the same time it would be best for us to look farther.

exemples en français. [These examples are not cited.] Mais je ne sais s'il faut faire remonter à la période romane une tendance du *d* à s'altérer dans cette situation.¹

The shift from *d* to *l* is one which is easily understood. The two articulations are similar physiologically, the main difference between *l* and *d* being the narrowing of the tongue against the left side of the mouth in the case of the *l*. But Havet says, in criticism: "Cette théorie est séduisante pour bien des côtés, mais je ne puis m'empêcher d'y voir grandes difficultés." Havet believed, in those cases cited by G. Paris where an *l*-form is actually found beside an *r*-form, that the former was derived from the latter and that "c'est un provençalisme." He goes on to say:

Enfin, a priori, il est peu croyable qu'un mot comme *medicus*, dont on a conservé tant de représentations romanes, ait passé par la forme *milie* sans qu'il reste de cette formule la moindre trace; et l'invraisemblance augmente quand on considère combien nous avons d'exemples de *l'* dans les mots où elle a réellement existé, comme *navilie*, *apostolie*, *Mabilie*, *Gilles*, *evangile*.

Mile is also found, though it is rare in the extreme; it certainly has all the earmarks of a variant of *mire*. Havet finally gives us his own opinion, that the *r* had its origin in a *ɖ* from *d*.² This theory has not proved as acceptable as that of G. Paris, so I shall not need to give a counter argument here.

Paul Passy offered still another explanation:³ "On sait que le *d* latin est devenu *r* dans quelques mots en vieux français, par exemple dans *mire* de *medicum*. ... D'après ce qui précède, je ne vois pas pourquoi ce changement n'aurait pas été direct." Passy does not develop this explanation, but merely gives it passing mention.

It is a fact that in Old and early Modern Spanish we find *melezena* < *medicina* (in *La Celestina*, for example) and, to be sure, *amidón* for *amilón*, as well as *omezillo* < *homicidium*. The last may well be due to suffix interchange (see above, n. 2, page 423). The only French example I have at hand occurs in George Sand's *Nouvelles*

¹ One may wonder whether G. Paris had not also in mind possible confusion between the suffixes *-idium* and *-ilium*. This has been pointed out to me by Professor J. D. M. Ford. If all the words in question were of this suffix-class, this would be most probable, but only three of the nine show an original suffix *-idium*.

² *Romania*, VI (1877), 255 ff.

³ *Etude sur les Changements phonétiques*, 1891, p. 146.

Lettres d'un Voyageur, the form *calabre* < *cadavre*.¹ This is evidently a Berrichon form. In Latin, of course, there is the famous shift from *dingua* to *lingua*, as well as *lacrima* (*lachryma*), corresponding to a Greek *δάκρυον*. In view of these examples we may safely say that the change of *d* to *l* is sporadic: it is not likely it would have affected a whole class of words such as those under discussion.

My suggestion for the origin of *r* in *mire*, *remire*, *homecire*, etc., is as follows. These words are obviously semi-learned. They might be termed "un quart savant," an expression which I have heard used by a distinguished French scholar in referring to the late Latin comparatives such as **sordidius*, **bellatior*, etc. The words, *mire*, *remire*, etc., retained their Latin forms till after the final fall of the penultimate vowels in Romance; later they passed into the current of Vulgar speech, undergoing subsequent phonological changes. Their partly learned character, however, must have been retained, as there was opposition to the absolute fall of the final vowel, which would otherwise have been dropped early.

Under these conditions the history of *medicus* would read thus: *m ē d i c u m* > **mieico* > **mice* (or-*a*) > **miȝe*.

When a final *o* or *u* was retained as in *jo* < *egō*, it weakened into an *e*² which assonanced only with *e* < *a*.³ This fact must surely be

¹ I am indebted to my colleague A. H. Schutz for this word. He has made a study of the vocabulary of George Sand which has not yet been published.

² I am aware that this passage of *jo* to *ge* is not considered as satisfactorily explained. I wish to thank Professor Jenkins for calling my attention to the fact that some scholars would derive *ge*, *gié* from *g*(*go*) and not as above. *Jo*, which must come from **go* < *e*(*g*)*ō*, however (cf. Spanish *yo*), is the universal form in MS L of the *Alexis* (Twelfth century), in the Oxford *Roland* (c. 1170) and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (preserved in a late Thirteenth century MS now lost.) It is not till we consult *Gormont et Isembart* (MS of Thirteenth century) that we find a spelling *jeo*. Here we even find *jeo* in assonance with a *ier* < *-a r i u m*. I believe that this spelling can be explained as an attempt to combine the actual pronunciation of the time with the traditional spelling. In the *Couronnement de Louis* (oldest MS, of the Thirteenth century) *je* is the regular form used. As *n o n* > *nen* when weakened, *i l l u* > *le*, **m o s* > *mes*, **s o s* > *ses*, and *i c o* became *ce* (pronoun), I think that the change from *jo* to *je* should not present much difficulty. Further, we have *che* (equals *ce*) rhyming with an *e* < *a*, Barbazan and Méon, III, 111 (see Tobler's *Verbaux*, 5te Aufl., p. 151). Examples of *ses*, *mes*, or *nen* in rhyme or assonance do not exist, as far as I know. In *Pathelin*, 1442, *par le* (< *i l l u*) rhymes with *parle* < *parole* < *parabolo*. Perhaps I should avoid all discussion as to the origin and value of the helping vowel. If any form of the first singular subjective pronoun is to be derived from *g*(*g o*) it would be the accented form, I should believe, and not the unaccented which concerns us here.

³ This was first pointed out to me by Professor E. S. Sheldon several years ago. Examples may be found in Tobler's *Verbaux* (see reference in note above).

well known. In order for the *o* to become an *e* of any quality it would pass through the intermediate stage of *a* or *ə* (compare modern Russian, where unaccented *o* is pronounced as *a*). At this stage, its development coalesced with that of an original *a*. Inasmuch as *c* vocalized to *i̇* before an *a* (*>e*), we have the fourth stage, **mi̇e*. As I have said above, the final *e* *< o* was not then dropped, as we should expect; the word retained some of its learned value, sufficient to keep it a polysyllable. I may state here that the change *vagu* *> vai*, *paco* *> pai*, *am̃icu* *> ami*, *paũcu* *> poi*, *Camerãcu* *> Cambrai*, *dūco* *> dui*, *VL pr̃eco* *> *priei* *> pri*, *Bavacu* *> Bavai* probably comes under this same development: *Camerãcu* *> *Cameraie* *> Cambrai*, and *paũcu* *> *poie* *> poi*. The dropping of the final *e* occurred as in *eaue* *> eau*.

But there have been some more recent discussions of importance dealing with these forms. Stimming, for example, would explain them as analogical.¹ *Cambrai*, he thinks, is by analogy with *Cambrais*, but Zauner points out that Stimming is here working in a circle. Zauner himself has made a contribution to the subject in his discussion of Stimming's article.² His criticism appears to me lucid and convincing. Although he does not go into detail, I am inclined to think that my explanation would seem quite similar to his if he should do so. I quote from his article, pages 615-16:

Die Annahme, dass sich auch im Frz. auslautendes *-u* länger gehalten habe als auslautendes *-o*, hat somit nichts Unwahrscheinliches an sich; man braucht dabei nicht an ein Verbleiben der vollen Artikulation zu denken; es genügt, wenn man die Fortdauer der kräftigeren Lippenrundung bei *-u* voransetze. Damit findet nicht nur *Cambrai* eine befriedigende Erklärung, sondern eine Reihe von Ausnahmen, die Stimming durch Angleichungen zu deuten gezwungen ist, stellt sich als vollkommen lautgerecht dar. So, vor allem, die 1. Person der Zeitwörter mit labialem oder velarem Stammauslaute. Stimming nimmt an, *bibo* hatte *biu*, *dico* *diu* ergeben müssen, usw. Ist es nicht auffällig, dass von allen diesen geforderten Formen keine einzige zu belegen ist, während doch die Sprache an Sonderentwicklungen der 1. Pers., z.B. bei *ruis*, *pruis*, *truis*, so lange keinen Anstoss genommen hat? Folgt man meiner Auffassung, so sind die tatsächlich allein vorhandenen Formen *boif*, *di* usw. ganz lautgesetzlich entwickelt. Stimmings Annahme, *di* sei nach *diēnt*, *die*, also nach verhältnismässig

¹ *Zeits. für rom. Phil.*, XXXIX, 136.

² *Zeits. für rom. Phil.*, XL, 612.

seltenen Formen gebildet, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. So erklärt sich auch *pou* < *paucu* neben *poi* < *paucō* (Ablativ des Masses).¹

We have now come to the last stage of our theory. We should expect **mĩe* to give *mie* almost immediately. This form does occur quite frequently. Let us examine the other words in question: *remēdium* > **remiẽe* (analogy of *mire*?); *homicidium* > **omecĩe*; *navigium* (?) > **navĩe*; *ar(tema)thematica* > **artemaica* > **artemaĩe*; *stūdiū* > **estūĩe*.

It will be noted that before the *ī* we always have a close *ĩ* (or, in one case, a *ū* which contained a strong *ĩ* element). The *ī* could be, and no doubt was, often absorbed into the preceding *ĩ*. What other course was open? Here we may turn to Rippmann's *Elements of Phonetics*² and consult the palate diagrams for French *ī* and *ĩ*, and English untrilled *r*.

If, by dissimilation from the preceding *ĩ*, the blade of the tongue, in forming *ī*, is dropped and the back alone remains in contact with the palate (see diagrams), the result is a weak untrilled *r*, as in English. The extra power required would be furnished by the effort toward dissimilation. This *r* I believe to be the equivalent of the early Romance *r'* or *rī* which later became *ir* in French. That it was weak and untrilled in Romance is shown by the fact that *rī* > *ī* in Old Italian, as *parium* > *paio*, etc. As *iī* was a combination which could not possibly survive, and as the extra syllable represented by the final *e* was justified by the partly learned nature of the words, by *dissimilation* the *ī* passed into its nearest approach, the *r'* of which we have spoken. This *r'* then developed into *ir* in French:³ **omecir'e* > **omecĩre* > *omecire*; **mir'e* > **mĩre* > *mire*; **estūr'e* > *estūire*; etc.

In the words with *l* (*nobire*, *concire*, etc.) I feel assured that G. Paris has given us the true explanation: the *l'* became *r'* > *ir*.

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¹ I am indebted to Professor Ford for another explanation of these double forms: *paucum* in tonic use > **pogu* > *pou* (with very early voicing and loss of *c*); *paucum* in proclitic use before a consonant with loss of *u* > **poc* + cons. > *poi*. But I do not see how the other forms in question could be explained in the same way.

² Seventh ed., New York, 1918, pp. 60, 70, 79.

³ The *Atlas linguistique de la France* is of no use for the study of these words. *Medicinus* is the obvious etymon of all but one of the dialect forms. This exception is *mirẽz*, used in certain parts of La Manche. Here we have a common variant of *mire* superimposed upon the form from *medicinus*. See Carte No. 830.

ANGLO-SAXON METER

When Sievers investigated the types of Anglo-Saxon meter, he classified them, but he did not explain them. This has led to the supposition that the famous five types are artificial things, a conclusion which by reaction has led to another supposition, recently expressed, that there must have been among the common people some other Anglo-Saxon folk poetry now lost, ballads and the like, which were rhythmical in the modern fashion, intended for singing, and different from the supposedly artificial five-type meter of the professional poets. Rankin¹ observes, after quoting opinions to the effect that modern meters with rime did not appear in English until the Middle Ages:

The implication is that there never existed in Anglo-Saxon any verse of a form different from that of the five-type alliterative verse which prevails in the corpus of extant Anglo-Saxon poetry.

Nevertheless, this view of the case appears upon examination to be highly improbable, not to say preposterous. For, unless the Anglo-Saxons were quite abnormal in their humanity, they must have composed many unpretentious songs and ballads—hymns, prayers, work songs, war songs, songs of joy and grief—with simple strongly marked rhythm, often with considerable alliteration, assonance, end rime, parallelism, and repetition: songs to be *sung*, not recited, by the individual or by the group. It is hardly conceivable that songs of such import, simple and popular lyrics, were ever composed in the stately five-type alliterating line with its irregularly shifting rhythms, which (however well adapted to chanting recitative) had little or no singing quality, and which, moreover, were quite possibly little known among the common people.

This is an ingenious guess. But there is evidence to show that the five-type meters were themselves spontaneous and musical devices, probably familiar to the common people; and that so far from representing a highly self-conscious and artificially developed art, they represent a simple, rudimentary, instinctive, and even primitive form of musical, or at least rhythmical, expression.

¹ "Rhythm and Rime before the Norman Conquest," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, September, 1921.

By way of preliminary analysis we may assume the following disjunctive as rigid and necessary. Either the Anglo-Saxon meters were sung, or chanted musically, or else they were merely noisy prose recited according to wholly unintelligible and purposeless laws of a complicated character. The second supposition is incredible. But if they were musical, they must conform to musical law. And the only known musical law of rhythm is a beating of time by means of accents, or a marking of time by syllable length. Even syncopated music and rag-time beat a clearly recognizable time, which lies behind their syncopation. In verse as in music, beating time implies a uniform spacing of the accents with the permissive use of a variable number of unaccented syllables or sounds between, and with the use of a pause at times in place of the unaccented syllable or syllables.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the five-type Teutonic poetry scans or sings, but does so by some obscure and undiscoverable law unknown to all other poetry and music, and that it constitutes therefore the only exception to otherwise universal rule? It seems an unreasonable supposition.

Let us look for a moment at the nature of modern poetry. Its syntax is practically that of prose slightly varied in order that accents may come at regular intervals. Its rhythm is a rhythm which appears in a modified form in much modern prose.¹ It seems to occur most frequently in the prose of speeches and the like, that is, in prose addressed to the ear, or in prose written for the eye only, but composed by authors who are habitual lecturers or orators, and who probably hear their sentences in the act of composition rather than see them on paper.

In view of these facts it is not unreasonable to assume as a hypothesis that Anglo-Saxon poetry preserved, with minor variations, the syntax of prose, and also represented a singing type of meter with accents at regular intervals. We have then a double-headed proposition. First, that Anglo-Saxon meters preserve the ordinary constructions of the language; second, that these constructions beat time with beats coming at regular intervals. The second proposition is the subject of this paper.

¹ For evidence, see article by author of this article in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, September, 1923.

Turning to the types of Anglo-Saxon meter we find that some of the types obviously sing according to modern rhythms. Types A and B, to follow the nomenclature of Bright's *Reader*, put the accents at regular intervals and so fall under a modern classification as iambic and trochaic feet. C, D, and E are types that appear strange to the modern eye or ear and that require explanation.

Now assume for a moment, whether recklessly or not a further inspection will show, that Anglo-Saxon meters do sing or chant according to the rules of explainable music, and that they place accents at measured intervals, and separate them by unaccented syllables or pauses.¹ We find the complete type half-line to be $X \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \cdot \text{X}$, where X is one or more unaccented syllables, or a pause. Number the X 's 1, 2, and 3. A pause in place 1 leaves an A type of half-line, $\text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$, a pause in place 2, a C type, $\text{X } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$, a pause in place 3, a B type, $\text{X } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$. Therefore, when only one X takes the form of a pause, the A, B, and C types exhaust the possible combinations. There is no occasion to search for obscure rhythmical significances in these types. They are merely the possible changes that can be rung on the theme $\text{X } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$, with one pause.

When two X 's are replaced by pauses, we have types D and E. D^1 , $\text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$, with its plain family resemblance to C, is $\text{X } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$ with the first two X 's replaced by pauses, and with two X 's at the end instead of one, in which case the secondary accent would be explained as musically a suppressed accent akin to that of our modern spondee. The evidence that a secondary accent could be suppressed in Anglo-Saxon for the making of rhythm is lacking. But such suppression of accent is common in modern English poetry in the spondee, not only with a secondary but even with a major accent. It must have been suppressible in Anglo-Saxon. D^1 then becomes $\text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$, where $\text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$ represents a pause, and D^2 is the same. E becomes $\text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$.

Thus all five types conform to the type $\text{X } \bar{\text{X}} \text{ } \bar{\text{X}}$. This is hard to prove by direct attack, but there is no positive evidence against it, and the supposition at once converts the Anglo-Saxon meters from an inexplicable mystery into a natural part of a universal system of musical forms. The fact that two accents occur sometimes

¹ The earlier history of this theory is given by Schipper in his work on English meter.

accent. D¹ and D², in the first half of the half-line, show only $\bar{\text{X}}$ or $\bar{\text{X}} \text{X}$, and E only $\bar{\text{X}} \text{X}$ or $\bar{\text{X}} \text{X} \text{X}$. These facts need explaining also.

For these limitations as to the expansibility of certain half half-lines by the addition of unaccented syllables, this argument does not present any explanation. But this does not in the least affect the reasonableness of the theory advanced in regard to the whole system of meter. It only shows certain limitations, which remain unexplained.

To return now, in conclusion, to the general theory, let us consider a moment the possible ways of singing or chanting the meter. It is almost incredible that the poet would deliberately change his music from half-line to half-line to suit the exigencies of five types of rhythm, shifting from one to another without law or regularity. And apparently there is no law or regularity in the shifts. On the other hand, suppose that some simple, chanting rhythm, such a thing as a primitive tribe might easily develop, served as the tune, so to speak, of the whole poem, the only requirements of the verse being that it should fit four accents to the four regular accents of the tune, should alliterate on at least two of the first three accents, and should obey the other unexplained laws already indicated. The whole matter at once becomes simple.

Many of our modern songs exhibit a variation in the number of unaccented syllables in successive strophes. Compare line 3 of strophe 1 of *Auld Lang Syne* with line 3 of strophe 2.

Should auld acquaintance be forgot

and

But we've wandered mony a weary foot.

In view of these facts it is safe to conclude that the Anglo-Saxon poetry could have been sung or chanted by a regular tune repeated over and over. It is even more likely that, instead of a single tune repeated over and over, there was a regular rhythm with simple variations in the tune. With this simple rhythm running smoothly in the mouth of an instinctively musical chanter, the five types would appear in due course of events, not as the artificial mannerisms of a conscious art, but as the possible combinations of stressed syllables,

unstressed syllables and pauses, which would preserve the regular beat, four times to the line, it being recalled that certain combinations for unknown reasons were avoided.

Anglo-Saxon verse then would appear to be nothing but good Anglo-Saxon prose, adjusted to the exigencies of song or chant.¹ The alliteration alone appears to be a self-conscious device, not forced upon the poet in the effort to sing the language, but consciously assumed as an ornamental or forceful device.

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¹ This relationship between Anglo-Saxon prose and Anglo-Saxon verse receives peculiar confirmation on the rhythmical side. In the article of the present writer previously cited (*P.M.L.A.*, September, 1923), are a number of examples of modified forms of five-type Anglo-Saxon rhythms discovered in modern prose. The accentuation, and consequently the rhythm, of Anglo-Saxon prose is unknown, but if modifications of the five types appear in modern prose—mixed with other rhythmical types—they must have appeared in the ancestral prose of Anglo-Saxon days. This goes to show a close relationship of some sort between Anglo-Saxon prose rhythm and Anglo-Saxon verse rhythm, and further confirms the supposition that the five-type verse rhythm was part of the native form of the language, not an artificial cult.

THE GOTHIC ADJECTIVE *BALS*

The Gothic adjective *bals* does not appear in the Gothic grammars and dictionaries, nor is it in the careful collection of stray Gothic words in the fifth chapter of Streitberg's *Gotisches Elementarbuch*.

It occurs in a passage of Procopius' *Gothic War*. The author is describing the events of A.D. 537. The emperor at Constantinople had sent an army to protect Rome from the threatening Gothic horde. The night before the two forces joined battle, a party of twenty renegade Goths deserted the army of Rome and joined their fellow-countrymen. Procopius writes:¹

He [i.e., Belisarius, the Roman general] at that time rode a horse that was very bold and understood well how to carry his rider through all dangers. It was grey all over, except that it was snow white from the foretop to the nostrils. The Greeks call such a horse *phalion*, but the barbarians call it *balan* (τούτων Ἕλληνες μὲν φαλιόν, βάρβαροι δὲ βάλαν καλοῦσι). The Goths now hurled their spears and shots mostly at the horse and Belisarius, and it came about this way. The renegades, who on the day preceding had gone over to the Goths, saw that Belisarius was fighting in the front rank; now they knew that the Roman cause would be badly off if he should fall, therefore they cried aloud that men should aim at the *balan* horse (. . . βάλλειν, ἐγκελευμένοι ἐς ἵππον τὸν βάλαν).

Now nearly everyone makes the acquaintance of Procopius through the German translation by Dr. D. Coste in *Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*,² but the curious form given by Coste hindered the recognition and correct evaluation of the word in question. He translates as follows: "Solch ein Pferd nennen die Griechen Phalios, die Barbaren aber Balas." And again: "deshalb schrieten sie laut, man solle auf den Balas zielen." He not only failed to translate the word but he created an artificial linguistic monstrosity. From a Gothic accusative *balan* one could not arrive at a nominative *balas*.

¹ Page 131 of Volume I of *La guerra gotica di Procopio di Caesarea*, edited by Domenico Comparetti, Rome, 1895. It is Volume XXIII of *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*.

² VI Jahrh. Bd. I. *Prokop, Gotenkrieg*. Leipzig, 1885. Cf. p. 52.

Ferdinand Wrede¹ still further confused the meaning of the passage by connecting the Gothic word with Old High German *walk* meaning "foreigner," our *Welsh*, and asks: "Ist danach das Pferd . . . auch ein welsches Ross?" This is unnecessary, since Procopius often uses β for the sound of Germanic *b*, as a glance at Wrede's index will readily show. Moreover, it is flying in the face of the evident meaning of the passage, for the Gothic word is a translation of the Greek adjective used here and is related to it.

Comparetti, in his index in the third volume of *La guerra gotica*, cited above, attributes the Gothic word to the right origin, but says that it is "nome gotico di una specie di cavallo dai Greci detto phalios," i.e., he assumes that it is a noun, which it cannot be, and he gives a form *bala*, which he evidently intends for the Gothic nominative singular, probably regarding it as a masculine *n*-stem.

In the first passage in which *balan* occurs, it translates a Greek adjective and is used in an absolutely parallel construction, so it can hardly be anything but an adjective. In the second passage it is an adjective modifying a noun, and can be nothing else. This second passage is, moreover, an indirect quotation. Procopius, who accompanied the expedition as its official historian, either heard the words or the report came to him that the Gothic renegades shouted to the other Goths: "Aim at the *balan* horse." In such a construction the adjective is weak, and *balan* is the correct form for the weak accusative singular masculine adjective in Gothic. We evidently have a correct report of the form of a Gothic word used on a Roman battlefield in the year 537. In Wulfila's time it would have had the form *bals* in the nominative singular masculine of the strong declension.

Bals evidently signifies "blase-faced," which is here the meaning of the Greek adjective $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, the word which it translates in the first passage. *Bals* corresponds in form exactly to $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, meaning "shining, white"; it is related to dialectal English *ball*, which may of course be only a lazy pronunciation of *bald*, and is applied to a horse with a white stripe down his face; to Gaelic *bal*, meaning the same; to Breton *bal*, a white spot on the forehead of domestic animals. We have it with a dental ending in Danish *bældet*, "bald-headed," in

¹ Quellen und Forschungen LXVIII. Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien. Strassburg, 1891.

Middle English *balled*, which became Modern English *bald*, also used in the compound "bald-faced" of such a horse as Belisarius rode. "Baldy" and "Bally" are at the present day common names to give to such a horse, at least in the Middle West.

The zero-grade of the same root with an added suffix is found in *blase* and *blase-faced*, in German *Blässe*, O.H.G. *blas-ros*, M.L.G. *blasen-hengst*, Icelandic, *-blesi*, *blesótt*, Danish *blis*. The etymological dictionaries give a vast array of congeners, but it is not necessary to cite more.

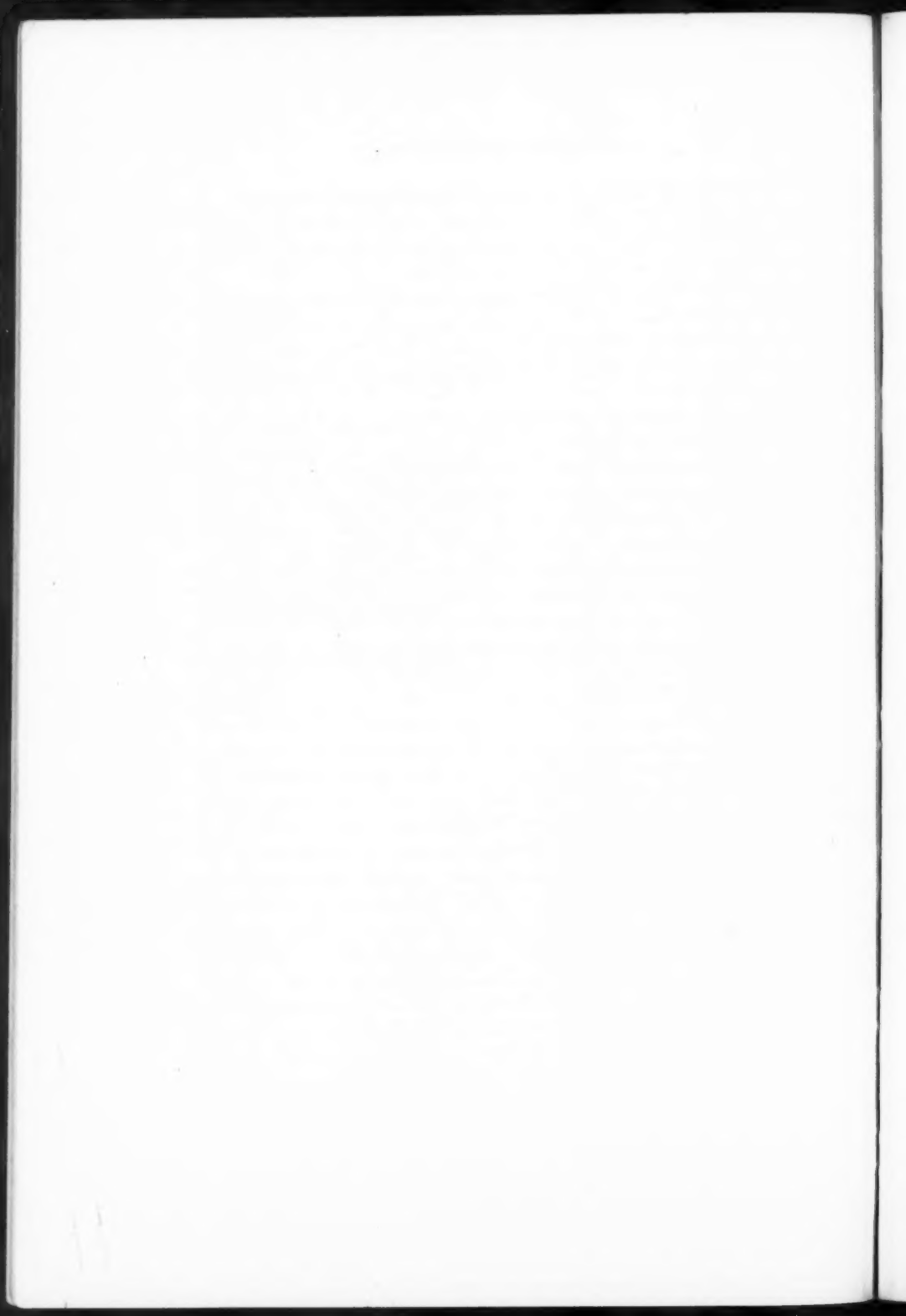
The words βαλός, "spotted, striped," and βαλιός, "piebald," the name of one of Achilles' horses, T 400, belong to a different root.¹

While considering *bals* it occurred to me to ask if Gothic *balsagga*, Mark 9:42, is certainly a scribal error for *hals-agma*, as usually assumed. My colleague, Professor Francis A. Wood, suggests that the first member, *bal-*, may be connected with English *ball*, the root of which has furnished a number of words meaning head.

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¹ Jarl Charpentier, *Åi. bala-²weiss*. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, XL, 453 ff.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr par Guernes de Pont-sainte-Mazence. Poème historique du XII^e Siècle (1172-1174). Published by E. WALBERG. Acta reg. societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis. V. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1922. Pp. clxxx+386. 8.

This noteworthy addition to the list of well-edited Old French texts had been accepted for publication by the French Société des anciens Textes français, but owing to the disturbances caused by the war it was withdrawn by its editor and now appears under the auspices of the Royal Humanistic Society of Lund (Sweden).

The poem itself has been known to scholars and historians for a long time. Immanuel Bekker was the first to publish, at Berlin in 1838 and 1844, reprints of the Wolfenbüttel and Harleian MSS (Suchier's "Thomas W" and "Thomas H"), while C. Hippeau followed, in 1859, with a very incorrect edition of the Paris MS, for which he made unwarranted claims; these three MSS remain the chief basis for the present edition, although there are two others, Welbeck Abbey and Cheltenham, and a fragment in the Cottonian collection.

Up to this time, the author of the poem on Becket has been known as Garnier (Guarnier); Walberg finds that the principal MSS (except Paris) present the name as *Guernes*, of which the oblique case would be *Guernon*; but, as the latter form does not occur in the poem, the editor adopts the nominative, which occurs twice. It appears, however, that G. Werino, *Werno*, is only the hypocoristic form of *Wernhere* (= *Warinhari*); those, therefore, who might continue to use *Garnier* would not be so very far in the wrong. Nor would *Guernon*, in our opinion, be unjustified, for the editor abundantly instances this form in medieval documents (p. 307), and usage inclines to the use of the oblique case (Conon de Béthune, Naimon de Baivière, etc.), especially when the name has survived into later French.

Guernes, or Garnier, was a *clericus vagans*, and a Frenchman from "France." Soon after the murder of Becket, he wrote an account of the event in the vernacular, but, as he tells us, this *romanz* was stolen from him by scribes, who sold copies of it for profit. He then repaired to Canterbury in order to learn more of the facts of the tragedy, and began, in 1172, a second version which took him two years to complete. This he read, "many a time," at the tomb of the "blisful martyr," for the edification of the pilgrims

who thronged to kiss the paving-stone which had been broken by the murderous sword of Richard le Breton. The poem as now published runs to 6,180 verses; the form, monorimed Alexandrine strophes of five lines, imposed considerable difficulty, and when we find that the author recoiled before none of the duties of the conscientious historian, even versifying at length the Constitutions of Clarendon and Becket's long letter to Henry II, his performance must be regarded as impressive. The story of the assassination is told clearly and vividly, yet with restraint; this scene, of about 500 lines, has been familiar to many readers, as it was included by Paul Meyer in his *Recueil d'anciens Textes* (1877).

The murder of Becket in his own church sent an electric shock through all Europe; it was a sensation as if something strange and hitherto deemed impossible had happened, and the effect was comparable, we imagine, to that produced in America by the sinking of the Lusitania. The penance of Henry II was as humiliating as that of Henry IV at Canossa, while the common people, who understood very little of the merits of the fierce quarrels which had preceded the catastrophe, came in crowds to the tomb of the martyr soon made a saint: *Tuit chrestien li quierent e salu e confort*, says the poet, and some two hundred years later Chaucer will tell us that still-

from every shires ende
Of Engelond, to Caunterbury they wende,
The holy blisful martir for to seke . . .

The studies of the MSS, of the Latin sources of Guernes (mainly Edward Grim and William of Canterbury, while Roger of Pontigny is shown to derive largely from Guernes), and of the language and versification of the poem, have been done with extreme care. Guernes at times amplifies his narrative with personal reminiscence, some of which has independent historical value; in other cases, he has incorrectly reproduced his sources, but his errors are few and not of great importance.

The six MSS fall into two groups of three each, and we note that the editor has not been deterred from attempting this classification by the new school which declares in advance the futility of such genealogies. In the case of this author, it being evident from many passages that he is using now Edward Grim and now William of Canterbury, the Latin texts may often be quoted to confirm the manuscript scheme which has been arrived at by other means. Thus, verse 2614: the reading of the pair BH, *Mielz volsist estre morz* represents the Latin of Grim, *multas potius elegisset mortes*, while the other trio PWC have quite a different and unsupported phrase, *Quel semblant qu'il fesist*. Again, at verse 1775, BH correctly make mention of the Bishop of Chichester, while PWC erroneously have the Bishop of Worcester (*Wireceastre*). The edition is based upon the pair BH, any departures from them, and also the variants of P (the principal member of the group PWC), being indicated throughout.

A few matters of detail seem worthy of mention. The editor continues to quote the feminine *ferē*, verse 2621, as though it were a significant Anglo-Norman reduction of normal *fiere*, but it can hardly be a genuine case. Guernes is reproducing, quite inaccurately, Gen. 37:33. Joseph's brothers are made to say to Jacob (in reality, these are Jacob's own reflections): *Que (Joseph) devorez esteit d'icele beste fere*. It is quite obvious that we have here a reproduction of the Latin *fera pessima comedit eum, bestia devoravit Joseph*. The word is a pure Latinism, like *mole*, verse 3363 (p. CL). It is well known that Old French texts reproduce Latin (*e*) with precisely this vowel: Philippe de Thaon rhymes Lat. *temporē* with *trové* (see Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Frz. Gram.*, §62, and the rich collection of material in Otto Müller's dissertation, Zürich, 1919, p. cxli)—It is highly improbable that the word *empereūr* is anything but four syllables in the language of Guernes; the alternative in verse 3002 (*Teodosie* with syneresis of the first two syllables) is, on the other hand, probable enough. The pretonic (*eo*) tends everywhere toward reduction to (*e*) or to (*i*) or to (*ie*); cf. *liepart, tifaigne, tifaïne, Legier*; even in more "learned" texts, writers hesitated between *Theophiles* as four and as three syllables (Bartsch-Horning, col. 466).—*Bricon* (vs. 1864) is better rendered "insignificant fellow" than by the French word *fou*.

T. A. JENKINS

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The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt by Thomas of Britain, translated from the Old French and Old Norse. By ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1923. Pp. XVII+294. \$2.50.

This new translation of the *Tristan* of Thomas, the first to be attempted in English since the medieval *Sir Tristrem*, is made, as the title suggests, from two sources: the extant fragments of the Anglo-Norman original and, for the lost portions of the original, the Old Norse *Saga* of Brother Robert which in the main follows Thomas closely. It offers the poem as nearly complete as it is possible to reconstruct it from the sources at our disposal.

In handling the *Saga* the translator has taken occasional liberties, as he himself notes in an Appendix (p. 292). Most important of these is a very considerable condensing of the first fifteen chapters which deal with the love of Rivalen and Blanchefleur. *Tristan* is also represented as going alone on his voyage to Ireland (chap. xxx). On the whole, however, the Old Norse text is followed faithfully, although the translation is sometimes free. *Ok foerði konunginum eptir sinum sið* (ed. Kölbing, p. 23, l. 25), for example, is translated "and the King wrought after his usage" (p. 35). The passage seems to mean "and he [Tristan] brought [them] to the king after his usage."

The rendering of Thomas' own lines is, as the translator claims for it (p. 292), close and in large measure literal. Inaccuracies have, however, crept in. In the episode of the wedding night in Brittany, we find (p. 195): "Tristram doth off the gown wherewith he was clad: well it sitteth upon him, *stretched with points*." Thomas reads for the phrase in italics: *al puin estreit* (ed. Bédier, l. 442), "close at the wrist," as the sense demands. A few lines below (p. 196): "I have espoused her lawfully *by the usage of the church*" translates *a l'us del mustier* (p. 478), "at the entrance to the church." "Well would I that hatred were hers rather than love or desire" (p. 199) is the translation given for the couplet: *Bien voil que la haür i seil Plus de l'amur or le conveit* (595f.). The second verse can hardly mean other than "More than love I now desire it" (cf. Bédier's note to l. 596). The translations of lines 597, 1097, 1132, 1412, 1834, 2890 are also open to objections. Lines 279 f., 632 f., 2019 f., 2180, 2231 have been omitted.

From the artistic standpoint the translation is unusually well done. The author has caught the spirit of the old romance and rendered it with fidelity and charm. Quaint illustrations from the Chertsey Tiles, and archaic English used with understanding and taste, contribute not a little toward preserving the medieval flavor of the original.

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